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THIRTY-NINTH YEAR

2515th MEETING: 16 FEBRUARY 1984

NEW YORK

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NOTE

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2515th MEETING

Held in New York on Thursday, 16 February 1984, at 11 a.m.

President: Mr. S. Shah NAWAZ (Pakistan).

Present: The representatives of the following States: China, Egypt, France, India, Malta, Netherlands, Nicaragua, Pakistan, Peru, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Upper Volta, Zimbabwe.

Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/2515)

1. Adoption of the agenda
2. The situation in the Middle East:
   Letter dated 14 February 1984 from the Permanent Representative of France to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/16339)

The meeting was called to order at 11.55 a.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation in the Middle East:
Letter dated 14 February 1984 from the Permanent Representative of France to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/16339).

1. The PRESIDENT: In accordance with the decisions taken at the 2514th meeting, I invite the representative of Lebanon to take a place at the Council table. I invite the representative of Italy to take the place reserved for him at the side of the Council chamber.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Fakhoury (Lebanon) took a place at the Council table; and Mr. Jannuzzi (Italy) took the place reserved for him at the side of the Council chamber.

2. Mr. KHALIL (Egypt) [*interpretation from Arabic*]: At the outset, Sir, I should like to express to you our sincere congratulations on your assumption of the presidency of the Council for the month of February. Your deep understanding of international affairs, your long experience and your well-known courtesy all assure us of the good conduct of the Council's work under your presidency. In addition, it also gives me, personally, and the delegation of Egypt great pleasure to see the representative of friendly Pakistan presiding over the Council.

3. The delegation of Egypt wishes also to express to your predecessor, Mr. Chamorro Mora, the representative of Nicaragua, its deep appreciation of his excellent conduct of the Council's work during his presidency in January.

4. Before turning to the matter before us today, I should like to offer Egypt's condolences to the Soviet delegation on the passing away of the Soviet leader Yuri Andropov.

5. Allow me to start by quoting part of the statement made by President Hosni Mubarak the day before yesterday—14 February—at the White House after his meeting with President Ronald Reagan. He said:

> "The situation in Lebanon today is intolerable. The escalation of violence and the bloodshed is a threat to us all. Every nation is called upon to help. The peace-keeping role of the United Nations must be expanded and reinforced. The partition of this war-torn country should be prevented at any cost. The Lebanese people have a right to live and prosper like all other nations."*

6. Egypt has always called for respect for the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of Lebanon. Therefore, we called and we continue to call for the withdrawal of all non-Lebanese forces from Lebanese territory, foremost among which are the Israeli forces. Egypt has always called for national reconciliation in Lebanon and will continue to do so. Therefore, we welcomed the glimmer of hope that shone when the Geneva conference for national reconciliation was held and the fighting was stopped, thus taking a positive step that augured well for the achievement of reconciliation. Hopes were once again rekindled when it was said that a security agreement between Lebanese factions was imminent. But those hopes were once again shattered. The deterioration of the situation is symbolized by the very fact that the Lebanese capital, Beirut, has once more become a divided city and that everywhere the civilian population is subjected to various kinds of bitter suffering, if they can escape the deadly dangers surrounding them at all times.

7. Today we are not addressing the Lebanese crisis with its internal tragedies and foreign external dimen-

* Quoted in English by the speaker.

sions. Therefore, the delegation of Egypt will confine itself to the French proposal, that is, the replacement of the multinational force in Beirut by United Nations forces. The immediate task before us today is for the international community represented in the Council to take the initiative, with the sense of urgency dictated by the situation, to halt bloodshed in Lebanon and achieve a cease-fire—a major step and a new necessary attempt towards creating an atmosphere conducive to the resumption of action at the political level in Lebanon.

8. Proceeding from this, Egypt supports the French proposal. It is clear that the call for the withdrawal from Beirut of the multinational force is not intended to leave a dangerous vacuum in the wake of that withdrawal, as long as we are simultaneously called upon to support the replacement of the multinational force by a United Nations force.

9. In addition to supporting the French proposal, Egypt believes that the deteriorating situation in Lebanon demands that all of us assist in facilitating the withdrawal of the multinational force and in making it possible for the Council to shoulder its responsibilities with the aim of the most rapid possible deployment of the United Nations force.

10. I wish to add that I have recently been informed by the delegation of the United Kingdom that it is about to put forward a proposal as a contribution to our joint effort. That proposal is to make use of the United Nations personnel already stationed in Beirut. I do not wish to put the cart before the horse, but I should like to confirm that we are ready to give impartial consideration to this positive British proposal, and we are willing to accept any constructive measure.

11. The worsening of the situation in Lebanon impels all of us in the Council to take action as soon as possible to put a stop to that deterioration. The delegation of Egypt is ready to contribute with all its energy to any joint effort in support of the French proposal, which we consider to be intended to create the atmosphere necessary once again to break the cycle of violence and thus to promote a political settlement, Lebanese national reconciliation, and the withdrawal of all foreign forces from the territory of Lebanon.

12. Mr. MARGETSON (United Kingdom): I should like first, Sir, to congratulate you on your assumption of the presidency of the Council. We have already, in this first half of the month, experienced the authority and skill which you bring to that task.

13. I should also like to express my thanks to the representative of Nicaragua, Mr. Chamorro Mora, who steered us with great ability and high professionalism through our tasks last month.

14. May I also join others in expressing profound sympathy with the Soviet Union in the loss of their distinguished leader, Mr. Yuri Andropov, President of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Soviet Union and General Secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

15. The first words of my statement must be ones of profound sympathy for the people of Lebanon, and particularly for the thousands of innocent people of that country who are suffering in a continuing period of fighting and tension. I speak, of course, not only for myself and my delegation, but also for my Government, who are deeply concerned at this tragic situation.

16. It is right that the Security Council should meet so that we, who are charged under the Charter with the maintenance of international peace and security, can have the opportunity to see what can be done to avert further tragedy.

17. There is an immediate need to put an end to the fighting in Lebanon, to promote the process of national reconciliation and to make possible the withdrawal of all foreign forces from Lebanese territory. The Council repeatedly has expressed support for the territorial integrity, sovereignty and political independence of Lebanon within its internationally recognized boundaries. That is a phrase which comes easily to the lips of us all. The difficulty is to translate it into deeds.

18. My Government believes that the United Nations has an important role to play in achieving these objectives. Indeed, we have urged for a long time, in the Council and in our diplomacy generally at the United Nations, that the United Nations should be given an enhanced role in Lebanon. The British Prime Minister, Mrs. Thatcher, gave her full support for such a role when she spoke to the Secretary-General in September. Over many months now we have been following this up in discussion with other delegations and with the Secretariat, exploring the possibilities of such a role.

19. So we strongly support the efforts which you, Mr. President, are making at the request of the Government of France to see if the Council can agree on a new mandate for such a role. We share the objective of getting an effective United Nations presence in and around Beirut.

20. I hope that the Council will consider carefully how best to reach agreement on this, including the eventual replacement of the multinational force, of which Britain is a member, by an enhanced United Nations presence. Much political will and flexibility will be required, not least on the part of the various parties involved in the fighting within Lebanon. But all of us know something of the national positions of the countries concerned. We know, therefore, that this process will take time.

21. Meanwhile, as we negotiate here, events in Lebanon do not stand still; the fighting continues, and with it the suffering of innocent people. We ask ourselves, therefore, "What can the United Nations do to help right now?"

22. The Secretary-General has said that the strength of the United Nations operations lies in the fact that they symbolize the will of the international community. There are United Nations observers in Beirut at this moment. There are not very many, and they are not as mobile as they would like to be. Nevertheless, to the people of Beirut they are the visible expression of the United Nations; they symbolize the peace and security which the United Nations, through the Charter, stands for. My Government would like to see the maximum possible use made of this small observer force, because we believe that it could have an important effect in reassuring the local population and in contributing to a lowering of tension.

23. With this in mind, my Government has proposed to the Secretary-General a number of limited steps which we believe that the United Nations could take now without a new Council resolution. This does not cut across in any way the major work of reaching agreement on a new mandate for an enhanced United Nations role. Nor are these steps in any way a substitute for the more far-reaching proposals which the Council must consider in due course.

24. First, we hope that the United Nations observers and other United Nations representatives already in Beirut could undertake small confidence-building measures. I shall not specify any particular ideas as I believe that the United Nations personnel themselves are in a better position to identify the particular functions they might perform, especially in the humanitarian role. It may be that to undertake such tasks a modest increase in the number of United Nations observers may be necessary. We believe that the Council should not stand in the way of such an increase if the Secretary-General considered that this would be helpful.

25. I should like in passing to say how much we admire the courage and the dedication of the United Nations observers and other United Nations representatives in Beirut in the face of considerable personal danger.

26. Secondly, we would like to suggest the active use by the Secretary-General of his good-offices role. The particular way in which the Secretary-General could use this role is, of course, for him to judge and, in the fluid situation which exists in Lebanon, he best can assess the nature and the timing of any action he would take to bring his good offices to bear with maximum effect.

27. Thirdly, we believe that further consideration should be given to the expansion of the role of the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL) to facilitate Israeli withdrawal from southern Lebanon.

28. These steps are not ambitious ones and they may, to those who do not understand the political difficulties of the Council, appear very inadequate in the face of the present situation in Lebanon. But they are practical steps, they are humanitarian steps and they are the steps which we believe can be taken now.

29. As we all know, small steps can sometimes lead to larger ones by creating the necessary confidence in which more ambitious policies can be negotiated. We have faith in the effect of even modest measures taken in the name of the United Nations. They can provide some reassurance to the people of Lebanon that the United Nations is able and willing to play a humanitarian and politically neutral role in working for the restoration of peace and stability in their country.

30. I hope that these small measures can receive the general support which I believe they deserve.

31. Mrs. KIRKPATRICK (United States): Sir, I understand that my colleagues have already congratulated you on your accession to the office of President of the Council. I should like to express once again my personal pleasure, as well as that of my Government, at seeing that distinguished office occupied by a representative of a good friend and constructive member of the Council. I might say personally as well that I should like to congratulate the representative of Nicaragua for what I am told by many colleagues in and out of our Mission was a most skilful and expeditious conduct of the business of the Council during the previous month.

32. As we meet today, the Lebanese people are once again enduring the agony which has been too often, too consistently, their lot in the last troubled years. Today, as we meet during the agony of Lebanon, the purpose and the commitment of the United States Government remains the same as it has been during these past painful months: to support the legitimate Government and people of Lebanon in the restoration and preservation of their independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity throughout the land of Lebanon to their internationally recognized borders.

33. The United States shares the view expressed by the Government of France that the international community should assume greater responsibility for assisting the people of Lebanon. We welcome all constructive contributions to this effort to bring peace —this time a peace which can perhaps endure—to Lebanon. We welcome therefore the suggestions of our colleagues from the United Kingdom as well.

34. The people of Lebanon have suffered too long the torments of violence, death, and occupation. They have endured too many months of violence, occupation and death. They have lived too long in the midst of uninvited participants in their destiny. They deserve a much better fate. They deserve more help from the international community.

35. The United States position with regard to a United Nations peace-keeping role in Lebanon is clear and consistent, although efforts are made from time to time to cast doubt on our support for a United Nations

peace-keeping role in Lebanon. We have supported a United Nations peace-keeping role in Lebanon with our votes, our diplomacy and our financial contributions. We have also actively supported a maximum role for United Nations observers in Lebanon. Repeatedly during the last year we have sought to enlarge the number and to extend the deployment of these observers in order to reinforce the fragile cease-fires which have from time to time been agreed to, only then, tragically, to be broken. We have made repeated efforts, formal and informal, alone and conjointly with others on the Security Council and in the United Nations, to enhance the role and participation of United Nations forces in the tasks of peace-keeping. We worked, for example, arduously at the time when a fragile cease-fire was achieved at the end of September 1983. We had worked in the months prior to that and we will continue our efforts to this end.

36. Parties to the complex, multi-sided Lebanese conflicts have changed. The United States Government's support for a United Nations peace-keeping role that can perform constructive tasks in an effective manner to bring peace to this country has remained constant. There should be no doubt in anyone's mind about our commitment. Today, as in the past, the United States supports authentic international peace-keeping efforts in Lebanon. We will support any reasonable proposal concerning real, effective United Nations participation in helping constructively to solve the truly tragic problems of the region. Yesterday the Secretary of State, Mr. Shultz, in Washington made this clear when he said it would be useful to state once again that a United Nations presence would be useful throughout Lebanon, particularly for such purposes as protecting Palestinian refugee camps and reinforcing cease-fires. He noted that the United Nations role presumes a return to stability, a balance of forces and some measure of political accord. All of those are, of course, goals we have all been pursuing for quite some time. Secretary Shultz's words were reinforced and reiterated by the President in his conversations with the press yesterday and will be reiterated again today—as I understand it.

37. We have noted that too often our efforts in the Council have been hampered and marred by the efforts of certain parties to gain short-range political advantage, and too often those efforts to gain short-range political advantage have taken priority over the search for peace. The efforts of some members of the Council to utilize to the fullest existing facilities and authority for United Nations participation in peace-keeping in Lebanon have been hampered by the pursuit of short-range political goals on the part of some parties.

38. The United States does not and has not pursued short-range national political goals in Lebanon. That is not the purpose of our participation in the multinational force. It never has been. We believe that the United Nations has available today actual or potential instruments in Lebanon which might be useful: a 50-man observer group, the United Nations Truce Supervision Organization (UNTSO), which could be raised —doubled, we understand—on short notice, and a nearly 6,000-man peace-keeping force, UNIFIL, in southern Lebanon, deployed in some cases in areas where violence no longer threatens the people of Lebanon.

39. The United States has consistently supported a United Nations peace-keeping role. We have been ready to consult with our colleagues on the Council on the composition and deployment of such a force. We remain ready at this time to enter into serious discussions with our colleagues on the Council and in the Secretariat concerning the composition and deployment of United Nations forces, preferably throughout Lebanon, to achieve these goals. The United States imposes no pre-conditions. We are ready to participate, when our colleagues are ready, in the achievement of these goals, which may bring, finally, relief to the suffering people of Lebanon.

40. The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is the representative of Italy. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

41. Mr. JANNUZZI (Italy) [*interpretation from French*]: First of all, please allow me warmly to congratulate you, Sir, on behalf of the Italian delegation, on your assumption of the presidency of the Council for this month and to tell you how pleased our delegation is to see the Council guided by the representative of a great country, with which Italy has such close bonds of friendship. We are convinced that the discussion that began yesterday, one we consider to be of the greatest importance, will gain from the fact that it is being presided over by you with your proven stature and experience. Please allow me also to express the gratitude of the Italian delegation for having been permitted to participate in this discussion, one that is, I repeat, of the greatest importance to us.

42. The painful consequences of the Lebanese crisis are becoming ever clearer. With increasing strength world public opinion is calling for an end to the suffering of a population already so severely tried and to the divisions and hatred that have given rise to so much mourning and is demanding the initiation of a process of national reconciliation, the sole process by which Lebanon can be saved from total disintegration, one that must also heal the wounds opened by civil war and restore conditions to enable that country to return to a state of domestic peace and progress.

43. The Italian Government feels itself in duty bound to act as the interpreter of these feelings here in this highest world forum.

44. Italy, which regards the United Nations as the supreme and impartial body for the safeguarding and guidance of the international community has, from the outset, seen in the evolution of the Lebanese crisis a signal opportunity for an effective concrete confirmation of that United Nations role.

45. What is at stake in Lebanon is not only such fundamental humanitarian objectives as the protection of innocent and unarmed civilian populations and defenceless Palestinian refugees; also at stake is a political principle that is of basic importance, namely, the survival of a small but noble State that is a full-fledged Member of the United Nations and whose unity and territorial integrity are today seriously threatened, a country anxiously wondering about its future.

46. When, in August and again in September 1982, the Italian Government decided to send military contingents to Lebanon in response to the urgent appeal of the Lebanese Government, and—we must reiterate—with the full agreement of all the parties concerned, it made it clear from the outset that the aforementioned initiative was being taken because of its realization of the impossibility of stationing a United Nations force there. That concept has constantly and consistently been repeated by the Italian Government, at all levels and in all circumstances, including here in this forum.

47. The Italian Government has always considered that, better than any other, a United Nations force could have carried out the tasks we deemed to be essential. It is clear, however, that in the absence of a United Nations initiative, Italy—basing itself on a careful evaluation of its responsibilities and on the solidarity that unites us, as a Mediterranean country, with the Near East—could not fail to assume the role it has played as part of the multinational force, a role that has won us the unanimous appreciation of all the parties concerned, to solve political and humanitarian problems we considered to be essential and pressing. Within the framework of the multinational force, the Italian contingent has in particular performed the invaluable task of protecting the Palestinian camps, of making impartial contact with all the parties and of providing assistance—with an equal impartiality—in the form of hospital facilities and basic relief to meet the vital requirements of the neediest sectors of the Beirut population.

48. In a spirit of sincere and full support for the United Nations and its governing principles, Italy therefore decided to send its contingent and attempted to maintain the closest possible contact with United Nations personnel until the assignment to Lebanon of a United Nations force, which we regard as the principal course to be followed, became possible. In this connection, in December 1983 we supported the consultations undertaken by Mr. van der Stoel, then President of the Security Council, and by the Secretary-General for strengthening the United Nations Observer Group stationed at Beirut. In that same spirit, during the course of many earlier contacts and at his recent meeting with the Secretary-General in January this year, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Italy stressed the need to develop conditions under which the duties of the multinational force in Beirut might be taken over by a United Nations presence. That idea has been reiterated by our Minister for Foreign Affairs during the course of the many bilateral contacts he has just had with the countries most closely concerned in the Lebanese crisis.

49. Italy is today more than ever convinced that meeting that need can no longer be postponed. Our position is not inspired by a desire to evade our commitments of solidarity and assistance—commitments we regard as still valid—towards a country which is in difficulty and which is so dear to us. Rather, our position is dictated by the fact that the Lebanese political situation has deteriorated further, to the extent that the urgent intervention of the United Nations is required, as the highest expression of the will of the international community to safeguard those humanitarian and political interests to which Italy and the other countries of the multinational force have made their respective contributions, which we consider worthwhile. The process of national reconciliation which began at Geneva under fairly promising auspices has not been continued. Consequently, it seems to us that the Lebanese army, essential for the reconstruction of the country, has not so far succeeded in fully and effectively representing the national community as a whole.

50. The time has come for all of us to ask, with a sense of responsibility and a clear historical view, whether the United Nations can remain passive and inert in the face of the very disturbing prospects opened up by the current crisis in Lebanon. The time has come for us to demonstrate to that section of world public opinion which still looks to the United Nations with hope and confidence that the Organization is in fact able to carry out its institutional tasks—that is to say, to stamp the imprint of peace, humanity and justice on international life. If we do not meet that need we shall resign ourselves to a restricted and diminished standing for the United Nations, and in the final analysis for ourselves. And history—and, even before history is written, political events—will hold us accountable.

51. The modalities for sending a United Nations force to Beirut and putting it in position there, its role and the tasks that it should accomplish, must of course be subject to the most careful evaluation, above all in connection with the objective of replacing the multinational force in such a way as to ensure, in the interests of the population and the Lebanese situation as a whole, that a dangerous vacuum is avoided. In our opinion, a United Nations presence in the Lebanese capital must also be seen in relation to the problem of the full restoration of Lebanese sovereignty, beginning with the implementation of Security Council resolution 520 (1982) and other relevant resolutions.

52. At this time of grave crisis for a noble friendly country, the Italian Government hopes that the Council will be able to carry out its fundamental task. We are ready to give it our sincere co-operation.

53. Mr. MEESMAN (Netherlands): May I add my voice to others who have congratulated you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Council and

say how happy we are to see someone of your experience and ability presiding over the debate on a difficult and tragic situation in a country which for years now has been the scene of so much violence. May I also add my thanks to the representative of Nicaragua for his very distinguished presidency of the Council last month.

54. Before I address the item on our agenda, allow me to convey through you, Mr. President, to the representative of the Soviet Union my country's condolences on the death of the President of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

55. It is with deep and growing concern that my Government has followed the latest events in and around Beirut. During past weeks the city has again been subjected to bitter strife, causing extensive damage to its infrastructure. My Government is particularly shocked by the terrible loss of human life during the latest round of hostilities. We therefore call on all parties concerned to refrain forthwith from the use of force and to agree promptly to a cease-fire to which they should then adhere scrupulously, for one cannot hope for a restoration of some measure of public order in Beirut as long as the fighting continues, fighting which would lead only to further chaos and anarchy. We also call on all involved to facilitate the activities of the International Committee of the Red Cross, of the United Nations Co-ordinator of Assistance for the Reconstruction and Development of Lebanon and of all other United Nations agencies concerned in humanitarian activities in the area.

56. However, it is not solely for humanitarian reasons that we stress the need for a prompt and effective cease-fire in the Beirut area. Such a cease-fire would also be conducive to an early renewal of the process of internal reconciliation in Lebanon, which was begun in Geneva last year. We have welcomed those first steps taken at Geneva, and we urge all parties concerned to resume without further delay the process of reconciliation and negotiation aimed at the establishment of a Government enjoying the widest possible national support and exercising authority throughout the territory of Lebanon. Such a Government would be in a much better position to assert its authority and to accomplish the desired goal of a complete withdrawal of all non-authorized non-Lebanese forces from Lebanese territory. The position of my Government on this issue remains unchanged: we fully support the territorial integrity, unity, sovereignty and independence of Lebanon; and it is clear that these require the withdrawal of all unauthorized foreign forces from that country.

57. Sir, we all know that under your most able guidance members of the Council have been actively deliberating on the present tragic situation in Beirut during the past few days. Yesterday, the representative of France [*2514th meeting*] proposed the deployment in the Beirut area of a United Nations force which would take the place of the multinational force at present stationed in the area. Bearing in mind that the grave situation confronting Lebanon endangers peace and security in the region, we firmly believe that all parties concerned are in duty bound to consider seriously ways and means in which the United Nations could help to bring about a more stable situation in the Beirut area. The most pressing problem which the Council should address now is how to avoid a further deterioration by helping to bring about an effective cease-fire in that city.

58. We agree with the Secretary-General that the United Nations is in a position to provide Lebanon with the necessary assistance to monitor such a cease-fire and to preserve peace in the area. At his press conference on 21 December last, the Secretary-General already stated his opinion that United Nations peace-keeping forces are perhaps the best way of preserving peace in Lebanon. At that time the Secretary-General made his observations in direct reference to the situation in Beirut, where the multinational force has encountered great difficulties in carrying out its mission. My Government fully shares the Secretary-General's views, and we think it is high time to look again into the possibilities for the United Nations to make a more meaningful contribution to improving the situation in Beirut.

59. However, the experience of the multinational force also serves as an example that we should not embark too hastily on a United Nations peace-keeping mission in that area. On several occasions, the Secretary-General has made clear under what conditions United Nations peace-keeping forces could carry out their mission effectively. First, United Nations peace-keeping forces should be deployed with the permission of the host country and with the consent of all other parties involved. Secondly, any United Nations peace-keeping mission should be given a clearly defined mandate. Thirdly, such a force would need the approval and full backing of the Security Council. It is with these important general conditions in mind that my Government remains prepared to support any constructive proposal that would lead to a stable and effective cease-fire in Beirut.

60. Again we wish to stress in this connection the overriding importance of an early resumption of the process of internal reconciliation between all Lebanese factions, without which I am afraid the prospects of peace in that war-torn country will remain slim. We do feel, however, that the United Nations can play a useful role in helping to bring about favourable conditions for a successful resumption and hopefully speedy conclusion of this process of internal reconciliation.

61. In this respect, I should like to express my appreciation for the suggestions made just now by the representative of the United Kingdom concerning some limited steps which could be taken almost immediately. As he indicated, these should in no way take the place

of more far-reaching proposals on which the Council could agree at a later stage. However, we feel that in the present circumstances even some small steps now could be useful as interim measures.

62. Lastly, we do hope that, given the serious situation in Beirut, no member of the Council aware of its collective and individual responsibility *vis-à-vis* the continuation of the present intolerable conditions in that city will stand in the way of suggestions aimed at enabling the United Nations to make a meaningful contribution to an improvement of the situation in that area.

The meeting rose at 12.40 p.m.

UNITED NATIONS

SECURITY COUNCIL
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NEW YORK

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2516th MEETING

Held in New York on Thursday, 23 February 1984, at 3.30 p.m.

President: Mr. S. Shah NAWAZ (Pakistan).

Present: The representatives of the following States: China, Egypt, France, India, Malta, Netherlands, Nicaragua, Pakistan, Peru, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Upper Volta, Zimbabwe.

Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/2516)

1. Adoption of the agenda

2. The situation in the Middle East:
   Letter dated 14 February 1984 from the Permanent Representative of France to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/16339)

The meeting was called to order at 4.10 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation in the Middle East:
Letter dated 14 February 1984 from the Permanent Representative of France to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/16339)

1. The PRESIDENT: In accordance with the decision taken at the 2514th meeting, I invite the representative of Lebanon to take a place at the Council table and the representative of Italy to take the place reserved for him at the side of the Council chamber.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Fakhoury (Lebanon) took a place at the Council table and Mr. Jannuzzi (Italy) took the place reserved for him at the side of the Council chamber.

2. The PRESIDENT: I should like to inform members of the Council that I have received a letter from the representative of Senegal in which he requests to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite that representative to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Sarré (Senegal) took the place reserved for him at the side of the Council chamber.

3. The PRESIDENT: The first speaker is the representative of Lebanon, on whom I now call.

4. Mr. FAKHOURY (Lebanon) [*interpretation from Arabic*]: Allow me at the outset, Sir, to present to you our best wishes and congratulations on your assumption of the presidency of the Council for this month of February. I am convinced that your wide experience, and wisdom and the confidence you enjoy will be the best guarantee for successfully guiding consultations and discussions and for presiding over the meetings of the Council.

5. I should also like to thank the President of the Council for last month, the representative of Nicaragua, for the excellent efforts he exerted to ensure success for the Council's work.

6. On behalf of the Lebanese delegation, I extend our sincere condolences to the delegation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on the death of President Yuri Andropov.

7. Allow me also to thank France, through its representative, Mr. Luc de La Barre de Nanteuil, for its concern for my country, Lebanon, its security, the safety of its citizens, its territorial integrity and the preservation of its independence.

8. Lebanon has always been and continues to be a supporter of peace and peace-keeping forces. I cannot recall one occasion when Lebanon refrained from taking a positive stand with regard to peace-keeping operations and participation in the financing of United Nations forces, wherever they may have been dispatched.

9. Today there is an international force in southern Lebanon in accordance with the request of Lebanon, which ever since the inception of that force has continued to request that it may be allowed to undertake the task entrusted to it in accordance with Security Council resolutions 425 (1978) and 426 (1978). The presence of that force represents one of the major achievements attained by the Council in the field of peace-keeping. In Beirut itself there is still a group of international observers working in accordance with Council resolutions 516 (1982) and 521 (1982).

10. In September of last year, Lebanon requested the Council to dispatch international observers to those areas from which the Israeli army had withdrawn. For reasons members here all know, the Council was unable to adopt a resolution on this request. Lebanon recorded its request by drawing up a draft resolution [*S/15990 of 19 September 1983*] stating what it had always hoped, and still hopes, to obtain from the Council, including the dispatch of international forces. That draft resolution remains before the Council until events make its adoption and implementation possible.

11. I have mentioned the foregoing to stress that Lebanon approves in principle the dispatching of United Nations forces or observers to assist in restoring security and stability in Lebanon and in making it possible for the legitimate authorities to exercise control over all Lebanese territory. Lebanon believes that the proposal to send international forces to the Beirut region alone represents a positive move. However, at the present time and under present conditions, this positive move remains partial and limited for the following reasons. First, the creation of favourable political conditions to ensure stability is the basis for the consolidation of security. Secondly, large parts of Lebanon continue to languish under the yoke of occupation. Thirdly, any international force which may be dispatched to Lebanon must have the means and effectiveness fully to undertake its tasks in all Lebanese regions. Fourthly, this effectiveness alone is capable of enabling the United Nations forces successfully to undertake their tasks, particularly in helping achieve security and stability and participating in efforts to bring about Lebanese sovereignty over all Lebanese territory inside its internationally recognized borders.

12. It is obvious that if the Council takes the relevant decision, then the question of the setting-up and dispatching of an international force, as well as the timing and duration of its deployment and the expiration of its mandate must be decided in consultation and co-ordination with the Lebanese Government.

13. Lebanon's keenness to see the international force succeed stems from the current situation. More than anyone else, the Lebanese wish to have peace and security. They have been experiencing repeated tragedies for the past nine years. Those who only hear of those tragedies cannot perceive them in the same way as those who actually see them, and those who only read about them cannot really feel them in the same way as those who live through them. If the Council and the international community it represents wish to assist Lebanon, then let that assistance be proportionate to the tragedy.

14. Lebanon stresses once again that it welcomes any action undertaken by the Council that is proportionate to the dimensions of the crisis and in line with the realistic Lebanese viewpoint which I have expressed in this statement. Lebanon stresses its full readiness to co-operate with the Council and the Secretariat in drawing up and in implementing any draft resolution that might be adopted if the aim of the text is to make a real and effective contribution in order to put a halt to a crisis that is now more than nine years old.

15. The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is the representative of Senegal. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

16. Mr. SARRÉ (Senegal) [*interpretation from French*]: Mr. President, first of all allow me to join previous speakers in congratulating you very sincerely and presenting to you our best wishes for success on your assumption of the presidency of the Council for February. During the past three weeks, we have all admired your talent and skill in carrying out your delicate task.

17. Your predecessor, Mr. Chamorro Mora, the representative of Nicaragua, also deserves a tribute for the competent and authoritative manner in which he conducted the Council's proceedings in January.

18. My delegation would like to express once again its condolences to the representative of the Soviet Union on the death of Mr. Yuri Andropov, the President of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

19. Finally, I should like to thank all the members of the Council for allowing me to participate in this debate which we regard as most important. On 2 February, the head of State of Senegal, Mr. Abdou Diouf, told the Secretary-General, who was visiting our country, of the concern of the Senegalese people and Government over the escalation of tension in Lebanon. Hence we ask that everything be done to restore peace in that country, especially since the Geneva conference on Lebanon gave rise to great hopes in that context. On 21 February, the President of the Republic of Senegal renewed that concern and issued a fresh appeal to the United Nations to get down to the task of helping the Lebanese bring about reconciliation in their mutual interest and in the interest of international peace and security with equal consideration being given to all political and ideological tendencies. For all these reasons, we welcomed the French initiative to convene the Council and its accompanying proposal.

20. The Council is meeting once again to consider the tragic situation prevailing in Lebanon, more specifically in the Beirut area, where the tragedy of Lebanon is particularly acute.

21. My country, Senegal, whose commitment to the peace and sovereignty of Lebanon accounts for its participation in the contingent of the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon, would like right away to take this opportunity to reaffirm that commitment. Likewise, we shall support any initiative that could restore peace and harmony to that strife-torn land.

22. As I said just now, a few weeks ago we hopefully welcomed the Geneva conference on national reconciliation and the cease-fire that seemed to have been the result. Today, alas, our hopes have once again been dashed and the situation has considerably worsened following the recent events that have again completely changed the situation. The matter now before the Council today has two aspects, humanitarian and political. The most urgent aspect is of a humanitarian nature. It concerns the cessation of hostilities and the protection of the civilian population, including Palestinian refugees, who are innocent victims of the indescribable sufferings that continue to afflict the Lebanese people. But beyond the urgency of that matter we must safeguard the Lebanese State in all its component parts, a State whose unity and territorial integrity are today threatened as never before. My country believes that the importance of what is at stake requires all Member States to be serious about allowing the Council to discharge its responsibilities and fulfil its essential task, namely, the promotion of peace and stability in a Lebanon which, through our common efforts, must be restored to its former self.

23. Now more than ever, the Council must take the opportunity to consider, in the light of General Assembly resolution 38/58, of 13 December 1983, the question of Palestine as a whole, and in particular the measures for the convening of the International Peace Conference on the Middle East. That Conference, in my delegation's opinion, could be of benefit to Lebanon —indeed, to the entire region. The demonstrations of violence that we have been constantly witnessing are often the result, it must be said, of the failure to solve the question of the Middle East and the Palestinian cause. Today, violence seems to have become the order of the day; innocent people continue to be victims of it. In view of all that, the Council must without any further delay promote a climate of mutual confidence that will enable all the parties concerned to set aside their passions and commit themselves resolutely to the peace process, as defined by the International Conference on the Question of Palestine and approved by the General Assembly in its resolution 38/58 C.

24. It is clear from various statements made over the past few days in the Council that a just and lasting solution to the situation now before us must not be delayed any longer. At the present stage of the development of that situation, my country fully supports the French proposal for the use of an international force to replace the multinational force deployed in Beirut. We are all the more in favour of this initiative because it seems to us indispensable that everything be done to avoid creating a vacuum, which could be dangerous, in the wake of the withdrawal of the multinational force, which is already well under way. We must make sure that there are no further Sabras and Shatilas. Moreover, the fact that the Lebanese parties to the conflict have on many occasions expressed a position in favour of United Nations intervention seems to demonstrate that such an undertaking would be appropriate. Indeed, this is borne out by the statement just made by the representative of Lebanon.

25. Of course, the mission of a United Nations force and the terms and conditions for its establishment will have to be carefully evaluated, in close consultation with all the parties concerned. Already, however, some urgent proposals have been made to the Council to deal with the most pressing issues. In our opinion, they are of very definite importance, because it is essential that the United Nations be enabled to contribute positively and in the most appropriate manner to an improvement of the situation in that troubled area.

26. The discussion taking place today is of particular importance for the very future of Lebanon. We trust that the Council will take, with all the urgency demanded by the situation, the measures indispensable for the gradual restoration of peace and security to that beleaguered country.

The meeting rose at 4.35 p.m.

UNITED NATIONS

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2517th MEETING

Held in New York on Friday, 24 February 1984, at 10.30 a.m.

President: Mr. S. Shah NAWAZ (Pakistan).

Present: The representatives of the following States: China, Egypt, France, India, Malta, Netherlands, Nicaragua, Pakistan, Peru, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Upper Volta, Zimbabwe.

Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/2517)

1. Adoption of the agenda

2. Admission of new Members:
   Letter dated 8 February 1984 from the Head of State and Prime Minister of Brunei Darussalam addressed to the Secretary-General (S/16353)

The meeting was called to order at 11.10 a.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

Admission of new Members:
Letter dated 8 February 1984 from the Head of State and Prime Minister of Brunei Darussalam addressed to the Secretary-General (S/16353)

1. The PRESIDENT: In a letter dated 8 February 1984, the Head of State and Prime Minister of Brunei Darussalam submitted the application of his country for membership of the United Nations [*S/16353*]. Under the provisions of rule 59 of the provisional rules of procedure of the Security Council, unless the Council decides otherwise, applications for membership shall be referred by the President of the Council to the Committee on the Admission of new Members. Accordingly, unless I hear a proposal to the contrary, I shall refer the application of Brunei Darussalam to the Committee for examination and report.

It was so decided.

2. The PRESIDENT: I would therefore suggest that the members of the Committee on the Admission of new Members meet immediately following the adjournment of this meeting in order to examine the application of Brunei Darussalam and to prepare the Committee's report to the Council.

The meeting rose at 11.15 a.m.

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2518th MEETING

Held in New York on Friday, 24 February 1984, at 3.00 p.m.

President: Mr. S. Shah NAWAZ (Pakistan).

Present: The representatives of the following States: China, Egypt, France, India, Malta, Netherlands, Nicaragua, Pakistan, Peru, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Upper Volta, Zimbabwe.

Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/2518)

1. Adoption of the agenda

2. Admission of new Members:
   Report of the Committee on the Admission of new Members concerning the application of Brunei Darussalam for membership in the United Nations (S/16367)

The meeting was called to order at 3.55 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

Admission of new Members:
Report of the Committee on the Admission of new Members concerning the application of Brunei Darussalam for membership in the United Nations (S/16367)

1. The PRESIDENT: I should like to inform members of the Council that I have received a letter from the representative of Indonesia in which he requests to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In accordance with the usual practice I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite the representative of Indonesia to participate in the discussion, without the right to vote, in conformity with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Koentarso (Indonesia) took the place reserved for him at the side of the Council chamber.

2. The PRESIDENT: The Council will now consider the report of the Committee on the Admission of new Members concerning the application of Brunei Darussalam for membership of the United Nations [*S/16367*].

3. In paragraph 3 of its report, the Committee recommends to the Council the adoption of a draft resolution on the application for membership of Brunei Darussalam. In accordance with the procedure followed on previous occasions, I propose that the Council first proceed to the vote on that draft resolution and that representatives desiring to speak do so thereafter. If I hear no objection, I shall take it that the Council approves of this procedure.

4. Accordingly, I now put to the vote the draft resolution contained in paragraph 3 of the Committee's report on the Admission of new Members.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

The draft resolution was adopted unanimously [resolution 548 (1984)].

5. The PRESIDENT: I shall immediately convey this decision to the Secretary-General for transmission to the General Assembly in accordance with the provisions of rule 60 of the provisional rules of procedure.

6. A number of representatives have asked to speak following the voting, and I now call on them.

7. Sir John THOMSON (United Kingdom): It is always a privilege, as a member of the Security Council, to welcome the application for membership of the United Nations of a newly sovereign State. It is a particular privilege, and pleasure, to do so in the case of Brunei Darussalam.

8. The United Kingdom has been in special treaty relationship with Brunei since 1847. In 1888 the then Sultan placed his country under the protection of the British Crown when Britain assumed responsibility for the defence and external affairs of Brunei.

9. A further agreement in 1906 provided for a British Resident to be appointed to Brunei to advise the Sultan on matters relating to the internal administration of the State. This arrangement continued until 1959 when the administrative subordination of Brunei to Sarawak —which mirrored similar arrangements of convenience in various dependent Territories—was ended and a High Commissioner was appointed to Brunei in its own right.

10. In 1971 a fresh agreement was signed, by which the advisory powers of the High Commissioner in Brunei were relinquished and which provided that Brunei should enjoy full internal self-government. Thereafter the only direct responsibility remaining with the United

Kingdom was for the conduct of Brunei's external relations.

11. Finally, by a Treaty of Friendship and Co-operation concluded in 1979,[1] it was agreed that Britain would yield that last responsibility on 31 December 1983 and that Brunei would, in the words of the Treaty, "resume full international responsibility as a sovereign and independent State". The Treaty came into force from 31 December 1983, when Brunei became the forty-ninth member of the Commonwealth and the sixth member State of the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN).

12. My Government is proud to have assisted Brunei in good times and in bad. Many of my countrymen have served in Brunei. This has led to notable links of affection at every level. We are happy that Brunei now takes its rightful place in the comity of nations.

13. The Treaty of Friendship and Co-operation states that "the relations between the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the State of Brunei shall continue to be governed by a spirit of close friendship". It is clear evidence of that close friendship that at the Brunei National Day celebration, held yesterday, Her Majesty The Queen was represented by His Royal Highness The Prince of Wales. It is in the spirit of that friendship that I applaud the unanimous decision of the Council to recommend the admission of Brunei Darussalam to the General Assembly as its 159th Member.

14. Mr. LIANG Yufan (China) [*interpretation from Chinese*]: We are deeply gratified at seeing you, Mr. President, an illustrious diplomat of Pakistan, which is a friendly neighbour of China, presiding over the Security Council this month. With your rich diplomatic experience, outstanding ability and solid personality, you are steering the Council towards the smooth accomplishment of its tasks for this month.

15. I wish also to take this opportunity to express my appreciation and thanks to Mr. Chamorro Mora, the representative of Nicaragua, for the outstanding work done during his presidency of the Council last month.

16. Having shaken off the foreign rule of nearly a century, Brunei Darussalam formally declared independence on 1 January 1984, thus becoming a new independent State in Asia. This is the victory won by the Brunei people after long years of struggle. The Chinese delegation rejoices at this happy event and would like to take this opportunity to extend warm congratulations to the Brunei Government and people.

17. Brunei and China share a relationship that can be traced back to ancient times. Brunei started its friendly exchanges with China as early as over a thousand years ago. By the time of the Ming Dynasty of China, the exchanges between the two countries had reached a more profound stage. Today, there still remains a well-preserved tomb of a Sultan of Brunei in the suburbs of Nanjing city; this bears historical witness to the traditional friendship between China and Brunei.

18. On 1 January, the day when Brunei Darussalam declared independence, both President Li Xiannian of the People's Republic of China and Premier Zhao Ziyang of the State Council sent messages to Sultan Muda Hassanal Bolkiah Mu'izzaddin Waddaulah, the Head of State and Prime Minister of Brunei Darussalam, warmly greeting the proclamation of the independence of Brunei and notifying him that the Government of the People's Republic of China had decided to recognize the Government of Brunei. We sincerely hope that the traditional friendship between the two peoples will develop and grow stronger under the new historical conditions.

19. The Chinese Government has consistently held that all countries, big or small, should be equal. Brunei Darussalam has a long history and rich resources. Soon after Brunei Darussalam proclaimed independence, it became, first, the sixth member State of ASEAN and, then, the forty-fifth member State of the Organization of the Islamic Conference. The Chinese delegation fully supports the application of Brunei Darussalam for admission to membership of the United Nations and endorses the recommendation of the Security Council to the General Assembly to accept the application. We are convinced that Brunei Darussalam will make positive contributions to the prosperity and co-operation of the region, to the preservation of international peace and security and to the attainment of the principles and purposes of the Charter of the United Nations.

20. Mr. LICHENSTEIN (United States of America): The United States delegation—not least as host country to the United Nations—is pleased to welcome the application for membership of Brunei Darussalam. We applaud the unanimous recommendation of the Council that Brunei's application be favourably considered.

21. Although our two countries are geographically very far apart, Brunei and the United States have enjoyed a variety of ties over the past century. Our consular relations date back to the late nineteenth century, and commercial contacts between our two peoples go back even further. We are confident that a full range of mutually profitable relations will expand in the years ahead.

22. The United States was honoured to participate in the National Day ceremonies yesterday, 23 February, marking the restoration of Brunei's full independence. The fact that our official delegation was led by Mr. Kenneth Dam, Deputy Secretary of the Department of State marked the importance we attached to that event. We would note also that Brunei's first ambassador to the United States, Mr. Pengiran Haji Idriss, will present his letters of credentials in Washington on 13 March.

23. Brunei will, we feel certain, be a constructive addition to the membership not only of the United Nations but also of ASEAN, which it is joining as that organization's sixth member. My Government has long respected and admired ASEAN's role in regional and global affairs and is confident that Brunei's participation in that organization will further strengthen its role.

24. My delegation, finally, wishes to extend its warm collegial congratulations to the people of Brunei and to His Majesty Sultan Muda Hassanal Bolkiah on the occasion of the restoration of Brunei's full independence, its National Day celebration and its application for membership of the United Nations.

25. Mr. SMIRNOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) [*interpretation from Russian*]: The Soviet Union supported the application by Brunei Darussalam to become a member of the United Nations. The delegation of the Soviet Union welcomes the declaration by Brunei Darussalam that it accepts the obligations contained in the Charter of the United Nations and solemnly undertakes to fulfil them.

26. On the day when the independence of Brunei Darussalam was declared, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Soviet Union sent His Majesty Sultan Hassanal Bolkiah of Brunei Darussalam a telegram which said:

> "On the occasion of the Brunei Darussalam's declaration of independence, please accept our sincere congratulations and every wish for the success and welfare of the people of your country on the road of independent national development.
>
> "The Soviet Union, constantly guided by the principles of equality and mutual respect for sovereignty, territorial integrity and non-intervention in internal affairs, hereby declares its recognition of Brunei Darussalam as an independent, sovereign State, and expresses its readiness to establish diplomatic relations with it."

27. The Soviet delegation takes this opportunity to express its warm congratulations to this young State and its people, and to wish it every success on its path of independent development.

28. Mr. GAUCI (Malta): Mr. President, I wish first to congratulate you most warmly on your assumption of the presidency for this month. Not many pleasant occasions come the way of Presidents of the Security Council. You must therefore feel very pleased that the unanimous recommendation of the admission of Brunei Darussalam should take place today, under your presidency. I believe that that is in itself a sincere tribute to the high regard in which you are held by the members of the Council. I would add an expression of gratitude to your predecessor, the representative of Nicaragua, Mr. Chamorro Mora, for the excellent way in which he presided over the Council's deliberations last month.

29. Malta welcomes the forthcoming addition to the now almost universal family of nations, and it gives me great pleasure to speak in favour of the admission of Brunei Darussalam to membership of the Organization.

30. Three points occur to me in this connection.

31. First, and perhaps most important, a new membership is a healthy sign of faith in the United Nations. Not only is this a salutary measure in itself, but, as it occurs at a time when scepticism and sometimes even cynicism about the work of the Organization is rampant, this act of faith by a small country is a rebuttal of the weakness of faith that all too often threatens to engulf us. We hope, therefore, that this demonstration of practical faith will give doubters food for thought. Certainly the Organization will be the better for it.

32. Secondly, this new request for membership comes from a small country. Speaking from the vantage point of 1984, I believe it might be rewarding to look back at the academic debates, for and against, concerning small countries becoming Members of the United Nations. Today, with some history behind us, I venture to say that small countries have in word and in deed made a valuable contribution to the Organization, and, as a representative of a small country myself, I cannot but feel that I should give a special welcome to a new Member with which my country shares, among other attributes, the characteristic of smallness, in a historic evolution which also has many similarities between our countries.

33. Thirdly, the moment a new Member joins the Organization, the ideals and aspirations of the United Nations suddenly expand to embrace yet another member of the family of nations. We are convinced that Brunei Darussalam will respond nobly to its obligations. We look forward to a long and fruitful collaboration with the newly independent State of Brunei Darussalam and its delegation, and we shall be honoured, as a first step, to commence an effective mode of co-operation by co-sponsoring in the General Assembly the draft resolution on its admission as a Member, with the same warm feelings of solidarity and friendship as we express in the Council today.

34. My country shares a third characteristic with Brunei Darussalam and with an impressive number of other countries—that is, membership of the British Commonwealth of Nations. It is gratifying for us to note that the growth of that organization, whose spontaneous bond is the result of historical development and association, keeps a pace proportionate with the advances made in the United Nations itself, and that in fact the Commonwealth often takes an impressive leadership role in the search for progress within the United Nations in such matters as the advancement of human rights and economic development.

35. Finally, a word of congratulations is due to the representative of the United Kingdom and his Govern-

ment for the practical way in which they have led the new country to independence, thus acceding to the wishes of the inhabitants, which should always be the supreme guideline.

36. So, having joined in the Council's unanimous recommendation that Brunei Darussalam become a Member of the United Nations, we extend our warm congratulations to its people and its Government, and wish them well in the years ahead.

37. Mr. de La BARRE de NANTEUIL (France) [*interpretation from French*]: It was with particular pleasure that my delegation voted in favour of the admission of Brunei Darussalam to membership of the United Nations.

38. In today recommending to the General Assembly the admission of this new State, a few days after its accession to independence, the Council is once again demonstrating its commitment to the universality of the United Nations, and France is very gratified by that.

39. The new State of Brunei Darussalam is pledged to fulfil the obligations contained in the Charter of the United Nations. We are sure that it will fulfil them very well and make a positive contribution to the efforts that are being made by the Organization to promote peace and development.

40. The French delegation gives a warm welcome to our new partner within the United Nations family. We extend our warm congratulations to Sultan Hassanal Bolkiah and his Government, and express to the people of this young State our best wishes for its well-being and prosperity.

41. Mr. BASSOLE (Upper Volta) [*interpretation from French*]: My delegation is very happy to see the United Nations family about to grow by the addition of a new Member. By responding positively to the request for admission to membership submitted by Brunei Darussalam, the Security Council has once again demonstrated its concern to ensure that the Organization maintain its universal character. We are convinced that this State will fully deserve its place in the international community, as its commitment to accept its obligations under the Charter indicates. Upper Volta is very happy to be able to co-operate with Brunei Darussalam with a view to furthering understanding between peoples and international peace and security.

42. Although today is a day of happiness, we cannot fail to devote some thought to those people in the world who are still languishing under the yoke of colonialism, for this moment also brings to mind their profound and legitimate aspirations to be with us. When shall we see the adoption of a draft resolution recommending to the General Assembly the admission of an independent Namibia to the United Nations? We dare to hope that Brunei Darussalam, which we warmly congratulate, will effectively and constructively contribute to finding an answer to this problem, an answer for which we all earnestly call.

43. Mr. ICAZA GALLARD (Nicaragua) [*interpretation from Spanish*]: The Nicaraguan delegation wishes most cordially and warmly to welcome the new State that has today associated itself with our Organization and is now a member of the international community. It is joining those States that have undertaken the commitment and responsibility strictly to abide by the United Nations Charter, and without question that implies the strengthening of the goals and purposes of this universal Organization, which gives my country joy.

44. We are convinced that the people and Government of the new State will devote their best efforts to the cause of peace and justice. Irrespective of its size, Brunei Darussalam has an important place in this community of nations, membership of which entails sensitive obligations that are a true challenge to newly independent States, especially at a time when the peace and security of nations, in particular the small nations and those that belong to the third world, are often hindered by many kinds of tensions and various interests and when the preservation of independence and the right to self-determination seem to be not really inalienable rights but rights that are being questioned.

45. Once again we welcome the new State to the Organization. Its presence and active participation will increase the Organization's undeniable strength as we consider the delicate matters dealt with here.

46. The representatives of Brunei Darussalam can rely on the co-operation of our delegation, and they can include the people of Nicaragua among their best friends.

47. Mr. KHALIL (Egypt) [*interpretation from Arabic*]: Egypt supported the application of Brunei Darussalam for membership of the United Nations. It did so in the belief that the accession of that country to membership of the international family as well as ASEAN and the Organization of the Islamic Conference will contribute to the maintenance of international peace and security and increased co-operation between countries having different political, economic and social systems.

48. On this occasion it gives the delegation of Egypt great pleasure to extend to His Majesty Sultan Hassanal Bolkiah and to the fraternal people of Brunei Darussalam sincere congratulations on the Security Council's unanimous recommendation to the Assembly concerning Brunei Darussalam's request for admission to membership.

49. Egypt has always supported the principle of the universality of the Organization. We are confident that the accession of this young State to the family of nations and the contribution it will make to the work of the

Organization will have a positive effect on efforts to apply the lofty principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

50. I should like here to reaffirm that Egypt will spare no effort to establish relations of close co-operation, friendship and mutual respect with the State of Brunei Darussalam, with which we have cultural bonds of special significance. It will also be a pleasure for our delegation to see the day on which it can co-operate with the delegation of Brunei Darussalam to benefit the international community.

51. Mr. KRAVETS (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) [*interpretation from Russian*]: May I, Mr. President, avail myself of this opportunity to welcome you to your responsible post as President of the Security Council for this month and to wish you every success in your work. I feel I should also refer to the masterly skill and tact displayed by the representative of Nicaragua, Mr. Chamorro Mora, when he was President of the Council.

52. The delegation of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic supported the recommendation of the Committee on the Admission of new Members that Brunei Darussalam be admitted to membership of the United Nations. We associate ourselves with the congratulations that have been addressed to that young State here in the Council on its attainment of independence and wish it and its people success and good fortune.

53. When the delegation of the Ukrainian SSR studied the letter dated 8 February 1984 from the Head of State and Prime Minister of Brunei Darussalam to the Secretary-General, it was gratified to note the declaration contained therein that Brunei Darussalam accepted the obligations contained in the Charter and solemnly undertook to fulfil them.

54. May we express the hope that the young independent State of Brunei Darussalam as a new Member of the United Nations, will make a useful contribution to the noble tasks of the Organization.

55. Mr. KRISHNAN (India): It is, Mr. President, a matter of particular pleasure for me to see you, a diplomat of high repute and experience, and an outstanding representative of our close neighbour Pakistan, presiding over these deliberations, having assumed the high office of President of the Council for the month of February. While extending to you our felicitations, I should like also to express my delegation's sincere appreciation of the dedication and competence with which you have been guiding the deliberations of the Council towards constructive conclusions.

56. I should also like to take this opportunity to express our deep appreciation to your predecessor, Mr. Chamorro Mora, representative of Nicaragua, for his excellent stewardship of the Council and the impartial and effective manner in which he conducted our work last month.

57. I should like to associate myself with all the speakers who have preceded me in applauding and welcoming the unanimous decision of the Council to recommend the admission of Brunei Darussalam as a Member of the United Nations. We have already had the pleasure and privilege of welcoming it as a fellow member of the Commonwealth on 1 January of this year.

58. India has had historically friendly relations with this beautiful country inhabited by peace-loving people. We look forward to establishing closer links of co-operation with the Government and people of the newly independent State.

59. The Government and people of India rejoiced at the attainment of independence by Brunei Darussalam on 1 January 1984, and a high-level Indian delegation was sent to participate in the independence celebrations.

60. India has consistently supported the principle of universality, and the admission of Brunei Darussalam as the 159th Member of the United Nations will go further in the implementation of that principle.

61. We wish Brunei Darussalam every success and look forward to working closely with its delegation to achieve our common objectives in pursuance of the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

62. Mr. MEESMAN (Netherlands): I have much pleasure in joining those who have welcomed the application for membership of the Organization of Brunei Darussalam. It goes without saying that my delegation had no difficulty whatever in supporting the recommendation contained in paragraph 3 of the report of the Committee on the Admission of new Members.

63. Members of the Council are aware that my country has always attached great importance to the universality of the United Nations—and of its subsidiary organs, for that matter—and we are therefore glad to welcome the now fully independent and sovereign State of Brunei Darussalam as the 159th Member of the Organization. We are confident that this new Member —with which the Kingdom of the Netherlands hopes to continue to maintain already excellent relations—will fulfil the requirements for membership, namely, that it is able and willing to carry out its obligations under the Charter.

64. We are delighted that the Council has unanimously decided to recommend Brunei Darussalam for membership of the United Nations, thereby paving the way for its admission to the comity of nations. We very much look forward to welcoming its representatives to New York.

65. Mr. CHIKETA (Zimbabwe): We are happy to join those who have spoken before us in welcoming the

admission of Brunei Darussalam as a new Member of the world community. We look forward to co-operating with the new State in the promotion of the principles and objectives of the United Nations.

66. The addition of any Member can only strengthen the Organization. Zimbabwe looks forward to the day when we shall welcome Namibia as a full and independent Member of the Organization. Self-determination is a human right that should not be enjoyed only by the big ones; it should be enjoyed also by the small nations, including Namibia.

67. Mr. ARIAS STELLA (Peru) [*interpretation from Spanish*]: First, I should like, on behalf of my delegation and on my own behalf, whole-heartedly to congratulate you, Mr. President, on your assumption of the duties of President of the Council for this month. Your qualities as a diplomat, your experience and your intelligence constitute a guarantee of the success of the mission entrusted to you. Also, my delegation wishes to express its congratulations and gratitude to the representative of Nicaragua, Mr. Chamorro Mora, who presided over the Council during the month of January.

68. It is with deep satisfaction that my delegation joined in the unanimous agreement adopted by the Council recommending to the General Assembly that Brunei Darussalam be admitted to membership of the United Nations. We greet the people and Government of Brunei Darussalam on this occasion. As of now, we offer them the goodwill and co-operation of the Peruvian delegation so that, along with the other Members of the United Nations, we can work together for the achievement of the goals and objectives of the Charter.

69. The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is the representative of Indonesia. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

70. Mr. KOENTARSO (Indonesia): It is a privilege for me to make a brief statement on behalf of the members countries of ASEAN, namely, Brunei Darussalam, Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore and Thailand.

71. At the outset, I should like to express my delegation's appreciation to you, Mr. President, and, through you, the other members of the Council for affording me the opportunity to address the Council on this occasion.

72. I should also like to take this opportunity to extend to you, Mr. President, our warm congratulations on your assumption of the presidency of the Council for the month of February. We are confident that under your presidency the Council's proceedings will be brought to a successful conclusion. Permit me also to congratulate your predecessor, Mr. Chamorro Mora of Nicaragua, for the skilful manner in which he conducted the Council's proceedings last month.

73. It was during last January when ASEAN members held a historic meeting at Djakarta that Brunei Darussalam, which had just achieved its independence, joined the Association. It is in this context that my delegation has asked to be allowed to participate in the Council's meeting on the admission of Brunei Darussalam to membership of the United Nations in order to express unreserved support for the application on behalf of ASEAN members.

74. As is well know, Indonesia and the other ASEAN members have consistently supported the principle of universality as one of the most effective ways to promote international co-operation. We are particularly pleased that the question of the admission of Brunei Darussalam has been brought before the Council for its consideration and approval. It is therefore with a deep sense of gratification that I should like to express the sincere appreciation of the member nations of ASEAN to all the members of the Council for their unanimous recommendation to the General Assembly that Brunei Darussalam be admitted to membership. It is our fervent hope that the Assembly also will unanimously approve the decision reached by the Council.

75. We are fully confident that Brunei Darussalam's membership in the community of nations will contribute to furthering the principles of the Charter and the objectives of the Organization.

76. The PRESIDENT: I shall now make a statement in my capacity as the representative of PAKISTAN.

77. It is a happy coincidence that Pakistan, in its capacity as President of the Council, has the privilege of considering the request of Brunei Darussalam for membership in the United Nations.

78. Pakistan's support for the admission of Brunei Darussalam is but one demonstration of our warm sentiments of friendship for the Government and the people of Brunei Darussalam and our satisfaction and joy at its entry into the fold of the international community as an independent and sovereign State. The admission of Brunei Darussalam as the 159th Member of the United Nations will mark a further step in the attainment of universality by the United Nations.

79. Pakistan rejoices in the independence of Brunei Darussalam and greets His Majesty Sultan Hassanal Bolkiah and the people of Brunei Darussalam on entering a new phase of their history, ready to devote themselves to the cause of freedom, peace and progress. The very name of Darussalam adopted by the new State is imbued with this promise. As a token of the goodwill and respect which the people of Pakistan have for the brotherly people of Brunei Darussalam, the President of Pakistan, General Mohammad Zia-ul-Haq, personally represented Pakistan at the celebrations held at Bandar Seri Begawan yesterday.

80. In welcoming the entry of Brunei Darussalam, a fraternal Islamic State, Pakistan is confident that this new and energetic nation will play an active role in the United Nations and will contribute strongly towards the advancement of the principles and purposes of the Organization. In this common endeavour, Pakistan also looks forward to the development of close brotherly relations with Brunei Darussalam and the establishment of fruitful co-operation and contacts with its delegation at the United Nations.

The meeting rose at 4.40 p.m.

NOTE

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THIRTY-NINTH YEAR

2519th MEETING: 29 FEBRUARY 1984

NEW YORK

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NOTE

Symbols of United Nations documents are composed of capital letters combined with figures. Mention of such a symbol indicates a reference to a United Nations document.

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The resolutions of the Security Council, numbered in accordance with a system adopted in 1964, are published in yearly volumes of *Resolutions and Decisions of the Security Council*. The new system, which has been applied retroactively to resolutions adopted before 1 January 1965, became fully operative on that date.

2519th MEETING

Held in New York on Wednesday, 29 February 1984, at 3 p.m.

President: Mr. S. Shah NAWAZ (Pakistan).

Present: The representatives of the following States: China, Egypt, France, India, Malta, Netherlands, Nicaragua, Pakistan, Peru, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Upper Volta, Zimbabwe.

Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/2519)

1. Adoption of the agenda

2. The situation in the Middle East:
   Letter dated 14 February 1984 from the Permanent Representative of France to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/16339)

The meeting was called to order at 4.00 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation in the Middle East:
Letter dated 14 February 1984 from the Permanent Representative of France to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/16339)

1. The PRESIDENT: In accordance with decisions taken at previous meetings [*2514th and 2416th meetings*], I invite the representative of Lebanon to take a place at the Council table, and the representatives of Italy and Senegal to take the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Fakhoury (Lebanon) took a place at the Council table, and Mr. Jannuzzi (Italy) and Mr. Sarré (Senegal) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

2. The PRESIDENT: Members of the Council have before them document S/16351/Rev.2, which contains the text of the revised draft resolution submitted by France.

3. Mr. de La BARRE de NANTEUIL (France) [*interpretation from French*]: I asked to speak once again merely to introduce draft resolution S/16351/Rev.2, submitted by the French delegation, on which we shall be voting this afternoon.

4. Need I recall the tragic character of the situation prevailing in Lebanon, and in particular in the Beirut area? The sufferings of the civilian populations and the constant threat to peace and security in that region posed by the violence make it necessary for the international community to shoulder its responsibilities.

5. As everyone here knows, France has always worked in favour of international action on this matter. We have always wanted the United Nations to take its proper place and to play its proper role in helping to bring peace and reconciliation to that troubled country. That was the case when the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL) was created—a force in which my country was the first to take part and is today its main troop contributor. That was also the case when we officially made known, in responding to the request of the Lebanese Government to take part in the multinational force, that we should have preferred a United Nations force. Subsequently, on several occasions the French authorities entered into bilateral and multilateral contacts in an attempt to replace the multinational force with a United Nations presence.

6. Today the conditions that prevailed when that force was established have drastically changed, and the situation in the Beirut area has further worsened. That is why France now proposes to the Council that it should assume its responsibilities by deciding to substitute a United Nations presence for the multinational force.

7. The draft resolution before the Council is the outcome of painstaking, determined efforts. It takes into account to the fullest extent possible the concerns expressed on all sides. Although France is submitting the draft text, it is, as everyone knows, principally the outcome of long work carried out in the main jointly with all those in the Council who believe, as we do, in the paramount role that the United Nations must play in achieving an end to violence and a decrease of tension, in order to help bring about reconciliation and peace. I do not hesitate to say that the draft resolution is just as much their work as it is ours.

8. We are aware that the adoption of that draft resolution would be merely one stage in carrying out the task that we must assume to achieve peace and reconciliation, but it is a necessary step.

9. Mr. TROYANOVSKY (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) [*interpretation from Russian*]: Although it is the last day of February, allow me, Sir, to welcome you to the lofty post of President of the Council. Your diplomatic abilities and skill are helping us to solve the problems that the Council has been considering this month.

10. I also pay a tribute to your predecessor, the representative of Nicaragua, Mr. Chamorro Mora, for the very tactful and competent guidance he provided for the Council's work in January.

11. Once again the Council's agenda has on it the question of the situation in Lebanon. Those of us who were here during the tragic events which took place in the summer of 1982 as a result of the massive Israeli aggression against that small country remember what deprivations and trials were suffered by the Lebanese and Palestinian peoples. Many people still have fresh in their minds the pictures of death and destruction brought by war to Lebanese territory, the massive bombardments and artillery sieges that the occupiers systematically carried out against the besieged capital of Lebanon and the barbaric massacre of the defenceless refugees in the Sabra and Shatila camps.

12. Literally from the very first hours of that aggression, the Council clearly and quite unambiguously demanded that Israel put an end to it. In resolutions 508 (1982) and 509 (1982), both of which the Council adopted unanimously, the substantial basis was laid for a subsequent settlement in Lebanon through the immediate and unconditional withdrawal from that country of Israeli forces and the ending of military actions on Lebanese territory.

13. For well-known reasons, those resolutions were not implemented. Under cover of a strategic alliance with Washington, Tel Aviv brazenly ignored the demands of the Council, and, by the way, it thereby unceremoniously trampled upon its own direct obligations under the Charter. The ink on those Council resolutions had not yet dried when Israel, and right after it the United States, competed with each other in affirming that those fundamental documents were obsolete, that they had been overtaken by events and that therefore, so to speak, they had become inappropriate.

14. A year and a half has passed since then, but the situation in Lebanon continues to be extremely complicated and tense. The Israeli occupiers continue to dominate the southern part of the country, where, by all accounts, they intend to dig in for a long time. Israeli aircraft are again bombing Lebanese cities and towns.

15. Some people in Washington then found it propitious to set up operations in Lebanon and to include it within the "sphere of vital interests" of the United States. That precisely was the long-term calculation that dictated the decision to deploy on Lebanese territory the so-called multinational force whose backbone was the United States Marines supported by an entire armada of ships from the United States Sixth Fleet. Sparing no efforts, Washington sent untold numbers of emissaries to the Middle East, who, to the accompaniment of loud statements about progress towards peace in concert with their Israeli protegés, imposed upon the Lebanese a servile agreement that essentially would have turned Lebanon into an American-Israeli protectorate.

16. From the very outset the Soviet Union vigorously warned of the dangerous consequences of interference from overseas, and especially of deployment of a multinational force in Lebanon. That prediction turned out to be true. The presence of the multinational force in Lebanese territory not only did not help normalize the situation in Lebanon, as Washington had self-confidently affirmed in the past; but, on the contrary, it further worsened the danger facing the Lebanese people and Government.

17. Events in recent months could not better serve to illustrate that fact. Having dropped the pretense of being peacemakers, the United States Marines and the ships of the Sixth Fleet dropped on Lebanon hundreds of tons of bombs and shells in an attempt to dictate to the Lebanese how they should arrange their own internal affairs. According to the American press, starting on 8 September, American ships in Lebanon fired more than 300 shells from 16-inch guns and more than 1300 shells from 5-inch guns. They also dropped high-explosive and cluster bombs from aircraft. One can imagine how many victims there were among the peaceful civilian population as a result.

18. Quite rightly, the American-Israeli intervention was decisively rebuffed by Lebanese patriots and by other national patriotic forces in the Arab world. Thanks primarily to their firmness and courage, Washington's efforts to carry out a "rescue mission" and to put a breach in the Arab ranks clearly failed.

19. In connection with the recent statements of official United States representatives to the effect that the United States has supposedly always advocated the sending of United Nations forces to Lebanon, and virtually against its will went ahead with the emplacement of the multinational force in that country, I should like to recall the following facts.

20. As long ago as July 1982—that is, at the peak of Israeli aggression against Lebanon—the Soviet Union put forward a proposal that the use of UNIFIL contingents in the region of the Lebanese capital be considered. The United States did not respond to that proposal. In September 1982, after a barbaric massacre of defenceless Palestinians in the Sabra and Shatila camps, almost all the members of the Council, including the Soviet Union, were prepared to take a decision on the immediate sending of United Nations forces to Beirut. Nevertheless, such a decision was

frustrated precisely by the United States, which preferred to send to Lebanon Marines and military contingents of their partners in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. In subsequent months, highly placed representatives of the United States Administration, including the Secretary of State, repeatedly made statements to the effect that they saw no possible role for the United Nations in Lebanon.

21. Those are the facts that today some would prefer to forget, and they now are vigorously showing their renewed loyalty to the United Nations.

22. Now great efforts are needed to clear away the obstruction caused by Israeli aggression and foreign intervention in Lebanon so that the Lebanese can themselves solve their internal problems without interference from outside. In that regard, what is mainly necessary is to ensure implementation of the fundamental resolutions 508 (1982) and 509 (1982) and to bring about an immediate and unconditional withdrawal of Israeli forces from all Lebanese territory. No one has cancelled those resolutions; they must be implemented. It is also necessary that the United States end its crude military blackmail of Lebanon, its barbaric firing from the ships of the Sixth Fleet. Its ships and the other foreign military fleets should be removed from the Lebanese coast.

23. But the opposite is happening. Even now, after the so-called redeployment of American Marines to their ships, almost not a day goes by when the United States fails to continue strikes against Lebanon—and, by the way, the United States does not even make much effort to come up with pretexts. Things have reached the point where the President of the United States, at his press conference on 22 February of this year, stated for all to hear that it is enough for one shell to fall—perhaps even accidentally, perhaps a shell fired by some unknown person from some unknown place against any American institution in Beirut—for the large-calibre artillery of the battleship *New Jersey* to again be brought into action. If we were to follow the logic of this doctrine, if I may call it that, then after the explosions on the grounds of the residence at the Soviet Mission here, the United States Administration should have acknowledged that the Soviet Union had a right to bombard New York. The absurdity of such an approach is quite obvious. As was stated on 27 February by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Soviet Union, Andrei Gromyko: "No objective observer would believe that one could blast one's way out of this impasse with the artillery of United States battleships or the military interference of the Marines."

24. Today, we again confirm that the real settlement for the situation in Lebanon should be achieved not by separate deals and arm-twisting but, rather, on the basis of a strict and unswerving implementation of the relevant United Nations decisions, for which the United States representative also voted in the Security Council. That is precisely the approach which was dictated by the position of the Soviet delegation in the Council when we considered the proposal to send United Nations forces to Beirut. From the very outset of the consultations on that question we clearly stated that we were prepared for a constructive discussion of this proposal, on the understanding that the important and necessary conditions be established so as to have the operation take place. Among such conditions, over and above withdrawal from Beirut of the multinational force, are of course the need to withdraw foreign warships from the Lebanese coast and to have guarantees that there would be no resumption of artillery fire, air strikes or any other interference in the internal affairs of Lebanon by the multinational force.

25. In spite of the Soviet delegation's great demonstrated flexibility and the statement that we were ready to seek a mutually acceptable solution to the key questions, during the course of the work on the draft resolution it became quite clear that some members of the Council did not wish to assume the responsibility not to resume interference in Lebanon. The draft resolution contains other unacceptable or ambiguous wording —for example, that relating to the mandate of the United Nations forces in Beirut and so on. And, although we favoured continuing consultations on this, it was finally introduced in the Council without any further consideration of our position in order to force a vote. Thus the work in the Council on this draft resolution to which many members have contributed was broken off owing to the unseemly manoeuvres of Western delegations, which bear full responsibility for this.

26. The Soviet delegation expresses its regret at such an outcome to the consideration of this question in the Council. There was an opportunity to achieve a positive outcome. In its present form, owing to the reasons that I have mentioned, this draft resolution is unacceptable, and the Soviet delegation will vote against it.

27. In conclusion, we should like to emphasize that we have great sympathy for the Lebanese, whose fate has included such harsh sufferings and deprivations. We support the constructive efforts to bring about a quick completion of the dialogue and national reconciliation among the various Lebanese groups and express our firm hope that those efforts will lead to the restoration of the unity, territorial integrity, sovereignty and independence of Lebanon, which as a full-fledged member of the international community will make its contribution to the strengthening of peace and security in the Middle East and throughout the entire world.

28. The PRESIDENT: It is my understanding that the Council is ready to proceed to the vote on the revised draft resolution submitted by France [*S/16351/Rev.2*]. Unless I hear any objection, I shall put it to the vote now.

29. First, I shall call on those members of the Council who wish to make statements before the voting.

30. Mr. KHALIL (Egypt) [*interpretation from Arabic*]: Egypt has supported the French initiative from its very inception and since France has proposed the replacement of the multinational force with United Nations forces in Lebanon. This idea has now been crystallized in a draft resolution, introduced in the Council moments ago by the representative of France. As a matter of fact, our support is based on a number of important considerations.

31. First, the international community has a clear responsibility to avoid a dangerous vacuum in Lebanon following the total withdrawal of the Multinational Force—a vacuum which on the humanitarian level may lead to more tragedies for the Lebanese people, especially the defenceless civilians, and for the refugees, including the Palestinian refugee camps, which are insufficiently protected following the withdrawal of the Italian forces.

32. Secondly, the draft resolution also stresses the importance of preserving the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Lebanon. That is a basic principle to which Egypt adheres, advocates and will always defend.

33. Thirdly, the draft resolution also calls for the withdrawal of all foreign forces from Lebanon. That is a principle which the Council cannot but support. At the same time, we would have preferred a clearer and stronger wording on this point in the draft resolution, especially requesting the unconditional, immediate withdrawal of the Israeli forces from all Lebanese territory, as the Council has previously requested. Despite the fact that the paragraph on this point does not mention that clearly, that is our understanding of the paragraph concerned.

34. Fourthly, despite the fact that today we are not discussing the whole Lebanese issue, at the same time the draft resolution does not ignore the very important necessity of initiating the national reconciliation dialogue among all the Lebanese factions. The positive result of such a dialogue is an indispensable basis for Lebanon's peace and security. There is no doubt that we all hope for a sincere response to the Council's appeal to cease hostilities and achieve a cease-fire not only in Beirut but also in all of Lebanon.

35. The situation in which Lebanon exists today —with all which that implies in dangerous threats that may have repercussions on peace and security in the region, as well as a threat to Lebanon and its territorial integrity—is the strongest justification for a United Nations presence and support for the role which could be played by the Organization in Lebanon.

36. As a non-aligned Arab country, Egypt, which is linked to Lebanon with the best possible relations, has, like other States, participated objectively in the rather difficult consultations on this draft resolution. We have played our part and we are proud of it, despite the disappointment we may feel in a few minutes.

37. Given all these elements I have put before the Council, and stemming from Egypt's strong belief in the constructive role the United Nations and the Security Council, in particular, must play, Egypt will vote in favour of the draft resolution submitted by France.

38. Mr. KI (Upper Volta) [*interpretation from French*]: When we began work in the Council on the situation in the Beirut area a few weeks ago, my delegation had the firm and strong conviction that the Council could and had to contribute to the restoration of peace not only in the capital of Lebanon, which had been so shaken and sorely tried and tested, but also throughout the entire country. As we see it, the Council is seized of a sensitive and complex problem whose sole lasting and realistic solution must be sought in the more comprehensive context of Lebanon as a whole. Otherwise we would be seeking to put out a fire without concern for its source; we would be applying partial solutions whose sole merit would be to delay more serious explosions that would affect the peace and security of the region.

39. Also, we are not losing sight of the fact that the situation in Beirut is but one component in the broader problem in the Middle East, the centre-piece of which remains the Palestinian problem. We are convinced that, as long as the Palestinian people, which has so long been without a country, is not given its right to self-determination and to a homeland, and continues to be tossed about at the whim of various Powers, that part of the world will not enjoy peace.

40. As far as we are concerned, the difficulties at present existing in Lebanon stem also directly from outside interference and the will of outside Powers to control that country. We believe that the Lebanese people knows where its interests lay and must be the sole judge of its own destiny. It is a mature people which is able to settle its problems without any outside interference. Therefore we deem inadmissible the presence on Lebanese soil of Israeli occupation troops in the south, as well as of the so-called multinational force in Beirut and Lebanese territorial waters. Hence, all foreign troops, whatever they may be, must withdraw from that country. We continue to believe that only the immediate withdrawal of those forces and strict respect for the territorial integrity, unity, national sovereignty and independence of Lebanon can create conditions favourable to reconciliation of all the people of the country, something that is indeed necessary. And for us, it is the duty of the Council to hasten the restoration of peace in Lebanon and to help alleviate the suffering of its civilian population, including the Palestinian refugees.

41. Throughout the consultations we said that for our part we were ready to go along with any initiative that might lead us to that goal. This is why we viewed favourably the French proposal designed to ask the Council to send to Lebanon a United Nations force entrusted with the maintenance of peace.

42. The draft resolution before us is the outcome of serious and earnest negotiations. We ourselves made a contribution to those negotiations within the non-aligned group. Some of the views that we expressed in private consultations along with other members of the Council have been taken into consideration. We would, of course, have wanted other points, such as the withdrawal of all foreign troops and agreement by all parties concerned, to be better spelled out. But, in an effort at conciliation and in order to act quickly for the benefit of the Lebanese population and the Palestinian refugees, my delegation is ready to accept this text, and we shall therefore vote in favour of the draft resolution.

43. Mr. KRISHNAN (India): I have already had occasion to felicitate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Council for this month. I should only like to reiterate my appreciation for the patience and skill with which you have guided our consultations.

44. The Council is once again debating the serious and explosive situation in Lebanon, this time the sharp escalation in violence and bloodshed that has engulfed the Beirut area. It is indeed appropriate that the Security Council, entrusted under the Charter with the primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, should take upon itself the task of finding ways and means of alleviating this serious situation, which could have wider repercussions for peace and stability in the region as a whole.

45. The Council has in the past adopted various resolutions seeking to bring about an immediate end to the fighting in this war-torn hapless country and demanding that Israel withdraw all its military forces forthwith and unconditionally to the internationally recognized boundaries of Lebanon. Unfortunately, those resolutions have remained unimplemented.

46. The continuing conflict in the Middle East remains the most serious threat to peace. The tragedy in Lebanon is but one symptom of the malaise that has caused untold suffering for thousands of innocent people of that country. Any solution of the problem of Lebanon cannot be divorced from our search for a comprehensive, just and lasting peace in the Middle East which must be based on the exercise by the Palestinian people of their inalienable national and human rights.

47. In June 1982, the international community was pained and shocked by the blatant Israeli aggression against Lebanon and the brutal atrocities committed by Israel against the civilian population. The invasion was undertaken on the alleged ground of self-preservation and security. Under the pretext of protecting its own civilians, a large number of innocent men, women and children in Lebanon were mercilessly killed. The invasion was obviously a part of Israel's calculated policy to achieve a systematic decimation of the Palestinian people and a complete erosion of the independence and sovereignty of the neighbouring State of Lebanon. For these acts of Israel, the innocent people of Lebanon have paid a heavy price.

48. The Government and people of India have been profoundly anguished over these tragic events. The Prime Minister of India, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, has given utterance to our sorrow and concern on a number of occasions in our Parliament as well as elsewhere, including in the General Assembly when she addressed it in the autumn of last year.[1]

49. Recent developments have resulted in a sharp escalation of tension and conflict in Lebanon. The current crisis in Beirut beginning early this month was the culmination of this deepening tragedy.

50. This is not the occasion nor the time to dwell on the circumstances in which the multinational force came to find itself in Lebanon. However, events have demonstrated beyond any doubt that the position of the multinational force was untenable and that its continued presence could only further aggravate tension and conflict. It became necessary therefore for the Council to consider the action to be taken by the United Nations to fill the vacuum in the Beirut area following the withdrawal of the multinational force and to bring a healing touch to the area.

51. Against this background we have viewed with great sympathy the current efforts in the Council initiated at the request of France, whose initiative we welcomed, to establish a United Nations presence in Lebanon, upon the withdrawal of the multinational force. In our consultations with the French delegation, as well as with other delegations, we have insisted that while concentrating on the current crisis in Beirut we should nevertheless bear in mind the larger perspective of the problem of Lebanon as a whole, as well as the continuing impasse in the Middle East. We were also anxious to ensure that the objective of the United Nations force should be clear and that its mandate should be precisely defined before it was deployed. It was also essential, in our judgement, to see some evidence of a genuine process of national reconciliation in Lebanon. The people of Lebanon, who have suffered so much for so long, should have the opportunity to find harmony, peace and stability, free from all foreign interference.

52. Throughout our deliberations—lasting, I believe, over nearly three weeks—we have endeavoured, along with other non-aligned countries members of the Council, to contribute towards evolving a draft resolution that would be acceptable to all, or at least have the acquiescence of all, members of the Council. Clearly, any draft resolution to be meaningful and effective must have the concurrence of all members of the Council and the parties concerned.

53. With a view to contributing towards a positive outcome of our efforts, my delegation, together with a number of non-aligned countries members of the Council, made several suggestions to improve the original

text put forward by France. It is a matter of deep satisfaction to us that the delegation of France has shown a spirit of co-operation and displayed flexibility and has incorporated most of those suggestions. I should like to take this opportunity to express my appreciation to the representative of France for this.

54. We would have wished that the Council had had a little more time to resolve some remaining problems. We are aware of the urgency of the situation and the necessity for early Council action. Even so, a few more hours spent in an effort to solve these remaining problems would not have been time ill spent. My delegation regrets that, unfortunately, this has not been possible.

55. Notwithstanding what I have just said, in our judgement the revised text has been substantially improved and is sufficiently balanced to meet most —though not all, as was abundantly clear from an earlier statement that we heard in the Council—of the concerns which have been expressed in the course of our consultations. For example, as far as India is concerned, my delegation would have strongly preferred the inclusion of a preambular paragraph reiterating the demand for the withdrawal of Israeli forces forthwith and unconditionally to the internationally recognized boundaries of Lebanon in implementation of resolutions 508 (1982) and 509 (1982). We believe the omission of such a preambular paragraph is a serious lacuna in the draft text.

56. My delegation is aware of the concerns which are not fully met by the present draft resolution. None the less, it is our belief that it represents a sufficiently broad and acceptable framework of essential elements and provides a reasonable basis for the Council to take the initial step towards the constitution of a United Nations force. Naturally, when the report of the Secretary-General is received, as required under operative paragraph 5 of the draft resolution—that is, if the draft resolution is adopted—remaining ambiguities should be cleared before the Council takes action to authorize the deployment of the force.

57. Guided by the considerations that I have just stated, my delegation will vote in favour of the draft resolution before us.

58. Mr. GAUCI (Malta): Sir, I suppose it cannot occur too often for a President to be congratulated on the last day of February in a leap year. I sincerely congratulate you, Sir, today, in great recognition of your sterling service in this prolonged and rather troubled month.

59. We are all aware of the tragic events which are taking place in Lebanon and there is no need for me to repeat our own concern in detail on this occasion. We have been asked today to vote on a draft resolution which attempts resolutely and effectively to address that tragic situation and which, if adopted, would constitute a necessary step towards restoring in that country the peace and stability that are so necessary to augment the prospects for a positive outcome to the current dialogue of national reconciliation.

60. From the very beginning of this exercise, the overriding concern of my delegation has been to produce a text which would be adopted by consensus or at least without a negative vote. The road has been long and arduous, thus necessarily slow; we are happy to note, however, that the present draft resolution takes into account most of the concerns expressed by my delegation. In consequence, our thanks go to the French delegation, and in particular to Mr. Luc de La Barre de Nanteuil, for the patience and understanding shown throughout the whole process.

61. I must say, however, that we would have liked to have had a little more time to see if we could have achieved an even more comprehensive text. We firmly believe that we were moving in the right direction and that the target was in fact well in sight. We believe, in particular, that we would have benefited further from a more accurate knowledge of the high-level talks taking place at Damascus today on an important element very relevant to this subject.

62. Having said that, and in the present circumstances, we still feel that we should support the draft resolution, looking less at the tragic past and more to the future.

63. At the same time, even if the exercise is interrupted today, we wish to make a public appeal to all concerned eventually to respond positively and to extend full respect and support to the task being contemplated for United Nations personnel, whatever its final outcome, so that if and when they undertake their assignment full safeguards will be given to those persons dedicated to the preservation of peace, to the ideals of the United Nations and to ensuring the re-emergence of Lebanon as a free, independent nation at peace within itself and with all its neighbours. This in itself would be a step towards restoring a broader peace in the Middle East after the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people have finally been recognized by all, so many agonizing years after they have appealed to the United Nations for assistance in a peaceful approach. The complexity of these tasks should not daunt us. Our collective efforts must continue and intensify in the future.

64. Mr. ICAZA GALLARD (Nicaragua) [*interpretation from Spanish*]: We have before us a draft resolution which is the result of arduous work by the members of the Council. From the outset we welcomed the French initiative with interest, and many of the suggestions made by the non-aligned countries were designed to ensure that this initiative had all the guarantees necessary for useful and effective participation by the United Nations in regard to this problem. We acknowledge the efforts made by the French delegation to meet these concerns.

65. We cannot forget that Lebanon continues to be under fire and bombardment and that part of its sovereign territory remains under the occupation of Israeli forces. We are also aware that with some additional effort it might have been possible to obtain a better outcome for this draft resolution. Nevertheless, we feel that the efforts we have made have not been in vain, for we have been guided solely by the interests of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, to which we belong, the interests of peace in that tormented region of the world and our belief in the ability of the United Nations and the Security Council to carry out their work.

66. The results as expressed in the draft resolution before us are not perfect, but we feel that they could contribute to an improvement of the situation in Lebanon. For that reason, my delegation will vote in favour of the draft resolution.

67. Mrs. KIRKPATRICK (United States of America): The United States wishes to affirm in this public meeting our high regard for the careful manner in which you, Sir, have conducted the affairs of the Council during this month of your presidency, and also our respect for the manner in which the French representative has pursued, with both patience and skill, the effort to achieve a draft resolution today that might provide a new element of peace in the tragic Lebanese situation.

68. The United States will vote in favour of the draft resolution before us, and will do so as part of a long-standing, continuing effort to help to re-establish and reinforce the peace necessary for the restoration of the territorial integrity, unity, sovereignty and independence of Lebanon. We shall vote in favour of the draft resolution because we hoped that it would contribute to ending the violence that maims and kills, without regard to age, role, religion or social condition, its Lebanese targets. The United States will vote in favour of the draft resolution because we hoped and expected that it might contribute to the protection of Lebanon's civilian population: Palestinian, Druse, Shiite, Sunni; Muslims and Christians of all varieties—that is, of all Lebanese people. These have been the goals of United States policy and they remain the goals of United States policy.

69. We have understood from the beginning of the whole tragic series of problems in Lebanon that international co-operation would be necessary to the restoration of peace and sovereignty in that country. To that end, the United States has encouraged and participated in international efforts to reinforce peace and self-government in Lebanon. We have worked in the United Nations and outside it, joining in successive resolutions, supporting existing deployments and advocating much broader deployments of United Nations observers, seeking an enhanced United Nations role, for many months. We have worked outside the United Nations, alone and with others, to assist the Government of Lebanon to reinforce its peace and consolidate its authority to exercise its sovereign control over its own territory. To these ends, we have participated in the multinational force, which was created because of the unavailability at the time of a United Nations force for that purpose.

70. The United States has paid a high price for its efforts on behalf of Lebanon. Our Embassy was bombed; many Americans and others were killed in that bombing. Nearly 300 young American Marines, in Lebanon precisely for purposes of peace-keeping, were murdered as they slept.

71. Major obstacles have been placed in the way of Lebanon's unity, sovereignty and peace. It is unfortunate to learn today that more obstacles will now be placed in the way of serious efforts to reinforce and enhance Lebanon's unity, sovereignty and peace. There has been less clarity than desired in much of the public discussion about the nature of these obstacles. Again and again one reads and hears that the terrible violence in Lebanon of the past weeks is the nearly inevitable consequence of Lebanon's tribal and confessional heterogeneity, of the tradition of rivalry and hostility among Lebanon's traditionally warring groups. We have read and heard here today a great deal more about the internecine tribal, confessional conflicts and about the presence of Israeli troops in the south than we have read and heard about the more than 50,000 Syrian troops and Palestinian and Iranian and other associates in Lebanon. We have heard much less about the systematic use of violence—violence systematically encouraged from outside Lebanon for the purpose precisely of preventing unity, sovereignty, and peace in Lebanon.

72. Turning now to the draft resolution, the United States would like to comment that the establishment of a peace-keeping force of the sort foreseen in it would, if it were to be constituted, stand in a long and distinguished record of United Nations peace-keeping efforts. Beginning in 1948 with the United Nations Truce Supervision Organization in Palestine, the United Nations Military Observers in Kashmir, the United Nations Observation Group in Lebanon, in 1958, and the United Nations Emergency Force in the Middle East and the United Nations Operation in the Congo, United Nations peace-keeping forces have proven to be an important adjunct to carrying out the primary purposes of the Charter. It is never untimely to remind ourselves of those primary purposes of the Charter. They are, of course, the maintenance of international peace and security, the maintenance of national sovereignty and independence, the maintenance of territorial integrity of Member States and the alleviation of massive suffering and the protection of fundamental human rights of civilian populations.

73. Those are noble purposes. The Organization was created to serve them. It has served them well with its peace-keeping efforts. Those peace-keeping efforts

have not ever proved inconsistent with the protection of the inherent rights of nations to individual or collective self-defence, which rights also exist under the Charter. The United Nations peace-keeping efforts, indeed, have not proved themselves inconsistent with the rights of any nations or any peoples. It therefore becomes particularly unfortunate that no new peace-keeping effort is to be permitted the Council this day.

74. If the United Nations were to be permitted to undertake an enhanced peace-keeping role today in Lebanon we would have, on behalf of the United States, further and more detailed commentary about the precise terms of the draft resolution. Since, unfortunately, our Soviet colleague has told us of his intention to veto, I see no useful point to be served by any more explicit commentary on the text of the draft resolution.

75. I would simply say in commenting on this unfortunate situation and its unfortunate outcome that the Soviet representative has spoken today sowing hate, watering it with lies and harvesting violence, refusing to co-operate and attacking others precisely for refusing co-operation. The United States is sick of these calumnies addressed against us. We are sick of the habit of accusing others—and us quite particularly—for actions and policies which do not characterize our Government's actions and policies but precisely those of the ones who address the charges. The United States regrets these tactics on behalf of our Soviet colleagues. We hope they will abandon these tactics. We hope they will even reconsider their opposition to a new and constructive peace-keeping role for the United Nations in Lebanon for the purpose of enhancing the peace, sovereignty and security of those people who have suffered so long.

76. The PRESIDENT: I shall now make a statement in my capacity as the representative of Pakistan.

77. Lebanon is passing through a most critical and agonizing period of its history. In the recent past, and particularly since the Israeli invasion of 1982, large parts of its territory have suffered the ravages of foreign occupation, and what remains of the country is torn by seemingly endless confrontation between its many warring groups.

78. The deepening human tragedy in Lebanon is matched by growing anarchy on the political scene. The primary victim of this intolerable situation is the population of Lebanon, which is living under the terror of a civil war compounded by foreign intervention. It would be naive to assume that the crisis in Lebanon, with all its complications, could lend itself to easy solutions. Such an assumption proved to be a costly miscalculation on the part of those who took it upon themselves to give Lebanon the direction of their choice. Yet a process thus began which could help in bringing to an end the pervasive violence and bloodshed and in creating conditions which could promote reconciliation and the political equilibrium essential for the preservation of the unity, independence and territorial integrity of the country.

79. Clearly the trend towards the political fragmentation of Lebanon cannot be reversed by efforts serving the interest of one party or the other. The situation calls for initiatives which allay rather than provoke partisan suspicious and which are aimed at reconciliation among the Lebanese factions, whose co-operation is indispensable for the unity and cohesion of that country.

80. The United Nations has an important role to play towards redressing the fast-deteriorating situation in Lebanon which would supplement the efforts in this direction by responsible Governments in the region itself. The French initiative to activate the Security Council fits admirably in this context and has earned our appreciation. I wish to pay a special tribute to Mr. Luc de La Barre de Nanteuil for the untiring efforts he has exerted in this context. In our view the proposal for introducing a United Nations force in Beirut, which did not find acceptance in the Council in the past, is equally relevant today. The presence of a United Nations force in the area of Beirut could prove critical in mitigating violence and ensuring a cease-fire, which would provide Lebanon a breathing space in which efforts for national reconciliation could be sustained to produce tangible results.

81. It is noteworthy that none of the parties in Lebanon or outside it has opposed the proposal for a United Nations force in the country, even though these parties have set out conditions for its introduction. In practical terms the revised draft which proposes the establishment of a United Nations force, has gone a long way towards meeting these conditions. A case in point is the question of the departure of the multinational force, which was the focus of attention during prolonged consultations on the French proposal for the establishment of a United Nations force. Opposition to the multinational force from political groups representing large sections of the Lebanese population has removed its purported *raison d'être*. The provisions of the draft resolution reinforce our assessment that its adoption could have been followed forthwith by the exit of the multinational force from Lebanon.

82. The draft resolution clearly envisaged that the United Nations force would take up positions when all elements of the multinational force had left Lebanese territory and territorial waters. The mandate of the United Nations force, which was the subject of delicate negotiations, provided for monitoring the cease-fire and extending help in protecting civilian life, including the Palestinian refugee camps. Pakistan feels particularly concerned over the safety of the Palestinian refugee camps and demands that every step be taken against the repetition of the barbarous crimes against the Palestinian refugees, such as those perpetrated in Sabra and Shatila in 1982.

83. Admittedly, the stipulated Council action is not a remedy for all the problems besetting Lebanon, the foremost of which is the continuing presence of Israeli forces in its territory. The introduction of a United Nations force in Beirut is being proposed, however, with a limited objective, and is not meant to represent a comprehensive remedy for the Lebanese crisis. Yet we do not rule out the possibility that the presence of such a force could have become a prelude to a process which could eventually restore the unity, independence and territorial integrity of Lebanon.

84. Our faith in the usefulness of a United Nations presence remains based on the consideration that only the United Nations has the capacity to meet the need for an impartial presence which could bring tranquillity in Beirut and provide a respite for the Lebanese leaders to intensify their efforts for national reconciliation.

85. In view of these considerations, Pakistan will support the draft resolution before us.

86. I now resume my functions as PRESIDENT of the Council.

87. I shall now put to the vote the revised draft resolution submitted by France, contained in document S/16351/Rev.2.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour: China, Egypt, France, India, Malta, Netherlands, Nicaragua, Pakistan, Peru, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Upper Volta, Zimbabwe.

Against: Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

There were 13 votes in favour and 2 against.

The draft resolution was not adopted, the negative vote being that of a permanent member of the Council.

88. The PRESIDENT: The Secretary-General wishes to make a statement, and I now call upon him.

89. The SECRETARY-GENERAL: I wish to make a brief statement in regard to the vote just taken by the Council, which has shown that at the present time disagreement among members of the Council prevents the United Nations from playing an expanded role in the tragic situation in Lebanon.

90. The United Nations has been involved in the Lebanese situation in one way or another for more than 35 years. Lebanon is a founding Member of the Organization. Quite apart from important humanitarian activities, we have at the moment some 6,000 peacekeeping personnel on the soil of Lebanon. As a matter of principle, the United Nations has, and must have, a profound concern for the fate of a Member State, especially when that fate is linked to important external factors and to the wider peace in the region.

91. Despite today's vote, I would appeal to the Council to continue to consider the situation in Lebanon with the closest attention and with a sense of urgency. The Council should, in my opinion, do this with the intent that in the near future ways will be found for the United Nations to expand its role in Lebanon, not only for the benefit of Lebanon itself, but also for the cause of international peace and security.

92. For my part, I shall continue to do all that I can to promote a constructive United Nations role in this tragic situation.

93. The PRESIDENT: I shall now on those members of the Council who wish to make statements following the voting.

94. Mr. MEESMAN (Netherlands): From the outset my Government has expressed its support for France's valuable efforts to arrive at a Council decision which would enable the United Nations to make a more meaningful contribution to the maintenance of peace and security in the Beirut area, a decision that in our view is already long overdue. We felt that the draft resolution upon which we have just voted, which was the fruit of prolonged and intensive consultations, went a long way to doing just that. We had therefore hoped that today the Council would have been able to act in accordance with its responsibilities. Alas, this was not to be.

95. My Government has followed developments in Lebanon, and lately in particular those in and around Beirut, with growing concern. We continue to hope that it will be possible to break the vicious circle of violence so that there will be no further loss of life. Moreover, an effective cease-fire might pave the way for further steps on the road to national reconciliation so that at the end of the day all unauthorized foreign forces will have been withdrawn from Lebanon and the territorial integrity, unity, sovereignty and independence of that country will no longer be in doubt. Regrettably, today the Organization has again been prevented, by the negative vote of one of the Council's permanent members, from making even the modest contribution to the enhancement of this process which the draft resolution calls for.

96. Article 24 of the Charter provides that the Members of the United Nations confer on the Security Council the primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, and we, the members of that Council, are collectively and individually responsible for the implementation of that important mandate. My Government is sorry to note that, notwithstanding the seriousness of the situation with which we are dealing here today, the Council has failed to live up to the hopes and expectations of the peoples of the world. Obviously, the outcome of today's vote is a major disappointment to my delegation, in particular

because it again puts a major obstacle in the way of the ability of the United Nations to make that contribution to an improvement of the situation in Lebanon which the world is entitled to expect of the Organization.

97. Things being what they are, however, I can only add that the Netherlands will continue to look for opportunities to enhance the process of peace and reconciliation in Lebanon. We fully associate ourselves with the draft resolution where it expresses the need for a positive outcome of the dialogue of national reconciliation, which, in the words of the fourth preambular paragraph, is "an indispensable basis for peace and security in Lebanon". At an earlier meeting of the Council, on 16 February, we already urged

> "all parties concerned to resume without further delay the process of reconciliation and negotiation, aimed at the establishment of a Government enjoying the widest possible ... support and exercising authority throughout the territory of Lebanon. Such a Government would be in a much better position to assert its authority and to accomplish the desired goal of a complete withdrawal of all non-authorized non-Lebanese forces from Lebanese territory." [*2515th meeting, para. 56.*]

98. I should like to reiterate here once again that my Government continues to be of the opinion that there can be no territorial integrity, unity, sovereignty and independence of Lebanon unless and until all unauthorized foreign forces have left that country.

99. The present setback notwithstanding, we continue to hope that the moment is not far off when the Organization will be allowed to play in the area the meaningful role to which so many of us have been looking forward for so long. It would seem to us that such a United Nations force should be a peace-keeping force rather than one which will have to enforce peace, with the risks of getting itself involved in the fighting and thus of intervening in the internal affairs of Lebanon. A stable and effective cease-fire in the Beirut area would in our view therefore continue to be an essential prerequisite for a United Nations force to be able to carry out its proposed mandate in the area effectively.

100. I think it was appropriate for me to make these observations although, regrettably, they cannot be of direct relevance to the situation as of this moment, for, should the question of a United Nations peace effort in Beirut or Lebanon come up again, the Council may wish to reflect upon some of these considerations, which in our view continue to be of relevance for an operation of this nature.

101. Sir John THOMSON (United Kingdom): The situation in Lebanon is grave. It has serious implications for its neighbours, for the Middle East in general and for international relations as a whole. It is therefore right that the Security Council should consider the situation and act upon it.

102. We have as a Council been intensely involved, especially over the last three weeks or so. Today we came to the moment for action on part at least of the problem. It is a grave disappointment to my delegation that the action has amounted to inaction.

103. We find it impossible to understand that anything that has been said this afternoon justifies a veto on limited action by the United Nations at the request of the Government concerned, the Government of Lebanon. We believe that many small, non-aligned countries will view with great concern this demonstration of how easy it is to block the Security Council from doing its duty under the Charter. It has implications for the security of all those who depend upon the United Nations.

104. The Council has devoted much effort to the elaboration of the draft resolution on which it has just voted. France had the distinction of initiating and sponsoring it. However, as the French representative has rightly said, the whole Council, including those delegations that have just voted against it, contributed to refining its wording. We all compromised in the hope of achieving consensus.

105. We have failed, for the time being. One aspect in particular of this failure puzzles my delegation. The deliberations of the Council in the last three weeks have been focused on the situation in and around Beirut, and no one was more insistent on restricting our discussion on the draft resolution to the smallest geographical area possible than the delegation which has just explained its negative vote with statements relating to Lebanon as a whole, or to parts of Lebanon other than Beirut. That delegation constantly told us that we must restrict ourselves to the city of Beirut only, not even to the Beirut area. It expressed suspicion regarding operative paragraph 3 of the draft resolution which speaks of the United Nations force having

> "the mission of monitoring compliance with the cease-fire and helping to protect the civilian populations, including in the Palestinian refugee camps, and, without intervening in the internal affairs of Lebanon for the benefit of any party whatever, will thereby assist in re-establishing the peace necessary for the restoration of the territorial integrity, unity, sovereignty and independence of Lebanon".

It appeared to think that the task was too wide. Yet, when it spoke this afternoon, its objections to the draft resolution seemed to be concerned with actions far outside the city of Beirut.

106. As I have already said, we have spent the last three weeks focusing on the situation in and around Beirut. But I would join with the delegation I have just criticized and with others in affirming that the problem of Lebanon is much wider than Beirut. We must bear in mind that in the draft resolution we have been looking at we have not been trying to deal with the whole problem.

There are many things which, if we had been trying to deal with the whole problem, my Government would have liked to see incorporated in the draft resolution but which, in a spirit of compromise, we were prepared to omit for the sake of getting agreement on limited action dealing with the most urgent problem. For example, we would have liked to refer to Council resolutions 520 (1982) and 521 (1982); we would have liked a clearer statement about the early withdrawal of all external forces; we would also have preferred to insert the word "initially" in the second sentence of operative paragraph 3 to make it clear that the United Nations force could begin with a relatively small task, broadening later, if it was successful, to a larger task.

107. I must stress that my Government believes that all countries should respect the territorial integrity, unity, sovereignty and independence of Lebanon within its internationally recognized boundaries, as the draft resolution stipulates.

108. My Government earnestly hopes for a resumption of the dialogue of national reconciliation. We trust this will lead to a situation in which a new Government of Lebanon, the former one having already resigned, will come into office with national acclaim and will assert its authority through the Lebanese army and security forces throughout the country. In order to achieve this it will of course be necessary for those external forces that now exercise authority in one part or another of Lebanon to leave.

109. We are encouraged by the clear statements made by all Governments which have forces in Lebanon that they do not intend to keep them there. We recognize that there are difficulties in removing these forces. Among such difficulties might be a deterioration in the internal security position in parts of Lebanon. These and other difficulties have to be taken into account. We think that the United Nations may be able to play a constructive part in resolving them, whether through discussion here or through the provision of forces at the request of the Lebanese Government.

110. My Government is deeply convinced, and has repeatedly said, that there should be an expanded role for the United Nations in Lebanon. Some people talk loosely about the failure of the United Nations activities in Lebanon. They are wrong. Not all that we, the United Nations, have put our hands to in Lebanon has prospered and succeeded in full measure, but we should not therefore leap to the opposite conclusion. Over the years, the United Nations has done well in Lebanon. I note particularly that when United Nations observers have been allowed to monitor a cease-fire they have done so with courage and competence. Their work has undoubtedly helped to preserve peace and reduce misunderstanding. Similarly, when UNIFIL has been allowed to function in accordance with its mandate, it has been effective. Recently the United Nations played a modest role in connection with the evacuation of Mr. Arafat and his followers from Tripoli. Underlying all this, and over a period of many years, the United Nations has shown great concern for the plight of the Palestinian refugees. In short, the United Nations has achieved a good deal. It is the belief and hope of my Government that it can do a good deal more, and that it should be allowed to do so.

111. I have already said that the situation in Lebanon is grave: the authority of the duly constituted Lebanese Government is called into question, there is factional strife, and the security of ordinary men and women is in doubt. Our sympathy goes to all those ordinary men and women and to all those who are constructively trying to bring about reconciliation, peace and security.

112. My Government strongly believes that the Lebanese have the same right as all the rest of us to choose their own Government and to adjust their internal affairs without external interference. This is a right provided for in the Charter, and we trust that all States Members will strive to ensure that the Lebanese enjoy it freely.

113. It is against the background of all these efforts and all these hopes and all these beliefs in what the United Nations can do that I now come to the vote we have just held.

114. My Government's vote in favour of the draft resolution is, I submit, entirely in line with the Charter, with what I have just said and with the needs of the situation. The vote of two delegations measured against these criteria is a grave disappointment. My delegation does not understand how these two delegations can justify their position to the international community. My delegation does not understand how these two delegations can square their own consciences before the suffering and despair of the Lebanese people. My delegation does not understand how these two delegations can expect us to believe that they are operating in accordance with the best interests of the Arab nation, or indeed the wider interests of us all, in security and the peaceful settlement of disputes. Are they not encouraging and prolonging a situation of chaos?

115. Despite the gloomy conclusions which we are obliged to draw from the vote we have just had, my delegation undertakes to continue with its efforts to bring about at least some degree of understanding and some degree of improvement in the context of the Lebanese problem. We welcome the brief statement which the Secretary-General has just made. We will apply our closest attention and proceed with a sense of urgency. We will not give up. We will go on trying to use the Security Council and the United Nations to do the job which they were intended to do.

116. Mr. LING Qing (China) [*interpretation from Chinese*]: Of late we have seen the continuous deterioration of the situation in Lebanon and a chain of armed conflicts in the Beirut area which have once again inflicted heavy losses of life and property on the

Lebanese people. The Chinese Government and people are extremely concerned about the situation and deeply sympathize with the miserable plight of the Lebanese people.

117. It is the view of the Chinese delegation that the Security Council should play a positive role in the question of Lebanon. It should implement in earnest its previous relevant resolutions. In the meantime, it should also give consideration to other steps that are practical in the light of the present situation. Our principled stand is that any action taken by the Council regarding Lebanon should be genuinely conducive to the safeguarding of Lebanon's independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity; to the elimination of foreign aggression and interference; and to the promotion of national reconciliation in Lebanon.

118. Proceeding from this principled stand and taking into consideration the fact that the United Nations force called for in the French draft resolution has a mandate with some positive elements—such as helping to protect the civilian populations, including in the Palestinian refugee camps, and without intervening in the internal affairs of Lebanon for the benefit of any party whatever—the Chinese delegation voted in favour of the draft resolution.

119. On the other hand, since the crisis in the Beirut area is only part of the Lebanese crisis and the root cause of the grave situation in Lebanon today lies in Israel's invasion and occupation of that country, we cannot but stress that the key to the solution of the Lebanese question is the withdrawal of Israeli troops from Lebanon. It is our opinion that in the meantime the foreign warships in the vicinity of Lebanese waters should not carry out any armed intervention in the internal affairs of Lebanon under any pretext.

120. We sincerely hope that Lebanon's various political factions will solve their problems independently, through consultations, and free from foreign interference, so that peace can be restored in Lebanon at an early date.

121. Mr. KRAVETS (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) [*interpretation from Russian*]: The Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic was unable to support the draft resolution for the following reasons.

122. Sharing the deep concern over the tragedy of the Lebanese people, we fully agree that urgent effective measures should be taken which would lead to peace and stability in Lebanon. To that end, what is most necessary is the elimination of everything that hinders normalization of the situation in that country. Unfortunately, the draft resolution submitted to the Council does not contain provisions which would achieve the goals that the Council is pursuing.

123. The main cause of the Lebanese tragedy is the uninterrupted imperialist intervention in Lebanon's affairs. The culmination of that interference was the massive armed invasion of Lebanon by Israeli forces in the summer of 1982.

124. In spite of the fact that the Council, in its resolution 509 (1982), demanded that Israel withdraw its armed forces from Lebanon forthwith and unconditionally, the aggressor continues to occupy one third of Lebanon's territory and is carrying out devastating bomb strikes in other regions of the country. Israel and the United States imposed upon Lebanon a servile agreement transforming that country into an American-Israeli protectorate—and that, naturally, could not fail to elicit legitimate protest and resistance from the national patriotic forces of Lebanon; in fact it predetermined that there would be increased, deeper tension in that country.

125. New woes and suffering for the Lebanese resulted from the arrival on Lebanese territory of the so-called multinational force. At that time, United States Marines, warships and aircraft began carrying out their "peace-making" mission with the help of bombs and ships' guns. Moreover, as is clear from the statements of the United States President and Secretary of Defense, they are not renouncing possible further strikes against Lebanon. The only thing that the United States turned out to be prepared to do was to remove its Marines to the ships of the Sixth Fleet, that is, to redeploy them two to three miles to the west. It is quite clear that the aforesaid measure did not in the slightest remove the threat to Lebanon. The Israeli occupiers and the United States fleet, aircraft and Marines participating in military actions against the patriotic forces of Lebanon have carried out a broad campaign of threats and military provocations against Syria, and that is fraught with far-reaching consequences for international peace and security.

126. The interests of normalizing the difficult situation in Lebanon demand a complete cessation of interference in the affairs of that country and the unconditional and complete withdrawal from Lebanon of the interventionist forces of Israel and the so-called multinational force, the removal of the warships of the countries participating in the multinational force from the shores of Lebanon and an immediate end to air and artillery bombardments, which should not be renewed in the future.

127. These are the main conditions for normalizing the situation in Lebanon and protecting its civilian population. Without the implementation of these necessary conditions, the question of giving assistance to Lebanon on behalf of the United Nations loses any real basis. One cannot seriously suppose that a United Nations force established by the Security Council could effectively carry out its mission if it was under the observation of the United States fleet cruising along the shores of Lebanon with Marines aboard.

128. The refusal to include in the draft resolution the relevant provisions and guarantees, including indica-

tions that the agreement of all directly involved parties was necessary, as well as the absence of a number of other important provisions would make the mission of a United Nations force for all practical purposes unrealizable.

129. In the light of all this, we cannot consider the manoeuvres with the draft resolution as anything other than an attempt, on the one hand, to justify interference in the internal affairs of Lebanon and, on the other hand, to do so in the name of the United Nations.

130. Mr. ARIAS STELLA (Peru) [*interpretation from Spanish*]: First of all, Sir, since this is the last day that you will be exercising the functions of President of the Council, may I be permitted to offer you again our most sincere congratulations on the skilful, diligent and measured way in which you have conducted our work during the month that is coming to an end today. I express the hope that the great wisdom you have demonstrated may shed some light for those who will follow you in your very delicate functions.

131. Our vote today was an expression of Peru's full agreement about the need for vigorous, effective and just action by the United Nations to help overcome the grievous situation prevailing today in Lebanon. It was also an expression of gratitude by our delegation for the efforts made by the representative of France and his delegation to advance an initiative designed to achieve peace for a part of the world on which the attention of the international community is focused today.

132. A group of countries with varying degrees of development and common positions in the quest for international peace and justice has worked with impartiality, the best of intentions and everything we had to offer to achieve a convergence of positions among the countries members of the Council. Almost all the suggestions that were submitted by this group to the delegation of France were accepted, and for this we once again thank that delegation.

133. Since significant progress had been achieved in the quest by this international community for positions that would ensure harmony with respect to the task before us, the delegation of Peru would have liked to be able to continue this effort a little longer, but we understand the reasons for putting the draft resolution to the vote at today's meeting. Nevertheless, we believe that this outcome is not the end of the responsibilities of the members of the Council. As was so accurately pointed out by the Secretary-General, it is the job of the Council to keep this matter under scrutiny and to seek progress in the quest for peace in Lebanon. Therefore, on behalf of the delegation of Peru, I should like to stress that all our efforts and capabilities will continue to be available to contribute to any initiative aimed at achieving the unity of views which we have not attained today but which we are confident will be attained in the near future.

134. The PRESIDENT: I shall now call on those representatives who wish to speak in exercise of the right of reply.

135. Mrs. KIRKPATRICK (United States of America): The United States strenuously objects to the false charges and unfair attacks of the representative of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic. We object strenuously because those attacks absolutely distort and misrepresent our purposes and our policies in Lebanon.

136. The United States Government, in voting for the draft resolution before the Council today—a draft resolution which we believe to be a very imperfect, in many ways an unsatisfactory, draft resolution—was expressing in as clear a fashion as possible our strongly held commitment to the view that peace in Lebanon should be brought about by the Lebanese people; that all foreign forces whatsoever should be withdrawn from Lebanon; and that the Lebanese population—Christian, Muslim, whatever—should be left, without outside interference from any quarter, to seek a civilized agreement that would respect the rights and preserve the freedom of all.

137. Lebanon, we believe, has been and can be an independent, democratic State. As an independent, democratic State, under Article 51 of the Charter, Lebanon exercised its right to self-defence and to request others to assist in that self-defence for the purpose of reinforcing and maintaining its sovereignty and independence. The United States responded, as did others in the multinational force, to the request of the legitimate Government of Lebanon. We have had no purpose there except to assist in the restoration of the peace, sovereignty and independence of Lebanon, and any suggestion to the contrary is at best profoundly misinformed.

138. Mr. KRAVETS (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) [*interpretation from Russian*]: The representative of the United States did not specify what the distortion made by the Ukrainian SSR with regard to the United States position was. That frees me from having to make a statement in exercise of the right of reply.

139. Mr. de La BARRE de NANTEUIL (France) [*interpretation from French*]: The Council has been unable to adopt the proposal we submitted to it. This is clearly an unfortunate outcome, particularly in the light of all the efforts made by several countries in the Council and by us.

140. It is an outcome which is not good for the United Nations. The Security Council is not fulfilling the mission entrusted to it under the Charter if it cannot reach a decision in these kinds of circumstances. It is precisely why we believed—and with us, the great majority of the Council—in a possible role for the United Nations that we submitted the proposal.

141. It is an outcome that is not good for Lebanon. I shall not refer again to the situation in Beirut, which is in the minds of all at the present time. I should merely like to say that our draft resolution was not intended to settle all the problems of peace in this region. Above all it was, in our eyes, a first step, a peace-making gesture intended to promote the emergence of a climate of reconciliation in Lebanon.

142. I should now like to thank all those delegations in this Council with which we have worked particularly closely these past three weeks. I thank the countries they represent, because those countries, like us, show faith in and make efforts towards the role the United Nations can play in helping achieve reconciliation and peace. I thank their representatives personally for their constant co-operation and I appreciated the qualities of clarity, courage, thoughtfulness, imagination and constancy that they demonstrated, a constancy which, with great rigour and dignity, they maintained throughout.

143. I thank all those who were kind enough to show their appreciation for my country's efforts and, naturally, I thank them also for the very kind words spoken about me and which touched me deeply.

144. My gratitude and that of my country finally, of course, go to all those who were kind enough to vote in favour of our proposal. It is encouraging for my country to have found such broad support for its proposal. It proves to us that the efforts we made were on the right track, even if they were not successful.

145. Certainly, my thoughts, our thoughts go to Lebanon, to that friendly country that is suffering, to those suffering people who have undergone indescribable trials and continue to do so. It is a country with which, everyone knows, we have traditional relations of friendships. We love Lebanon; we love its whole population; we love all who live there; and we rule out no one on the basis of religious persuasion or party. We are a friend to all the Lebanese, and we have been thinking about all the Lebanese and we continue to do so. They are the ones we were thinking about when we undertook this initiative; they are the ones we are thinking about and we shall always continue to think about.

146. The PRESIDENT: The representative of Lebanon has asked to make a statement, and I call on him.

147. Mr. FAKHOURY (Lebanon) [*interpretation from Arabic*]: Mr. President, the delegation of Lebanon, while appreciating the efforts made by you personally and by the representative of France and other representatives, regrets that for the second time in a few months the Council has been unable to take a decision that could play a part, albeit a partial and a limited one, in putting an end to a situation that all the Council members have recognized as being very serious, indeed tragic. That tragedy has befallen Lebanon, one of the founding Members of the United Nations. The international community, through the Council, has a great responsibility, not only *vis-à-vis* the Lebanese people but also *vis-à-vis* the peoples of the world: that of the guarantor of international peace and security. It is indeed a bitter disappointment for all those peoples who, at the most dire moments of their history, look towards effective assistance and help from the Council in overcoming the crises confronting them.

148. Despite our disappointment and regret, the delegation of Lebanon in turn appeals to the Council to ponder the positions taken today. We appeal to the Council to give consideration and respond positively without fail, and as soon as possible, to any new initiative which is in keeping with the seriousness of the situation throughout Lebanon and by means of which the Council may be able to fulfil the tasks entrusted to it under the Charter.

149. The PRESIDENT: There are no further names inscribed on the list of speakers for this meeting. The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on the agenda.

The meeting rose at 6 p.m.

NOTE

[1] *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-eighth Session, Plenary Meetings*, 9th meeting.

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